

THOMAS RHOADS  
THE WEALTHIEST MORMON GOLDMINER

by

J. Kenneth Davies

1st Edition, 1980

2nd Edition, 1985

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction		Page 1
Chapter 1	The Mormon Convert	3
Chapter 2	Poor Bleeding Zion	10
Chapter 3	Westward to Fort Laramie	18
Chapter 4	Fort Laramie to Emigrant Gap	28
Chapter 5	The California Gold Rush	36
Chapter 6	The Rhoads Gold Train	45
Chapter 7	A Man of Affairs	55
Chapter 8	A Mighty Hunter of Grizzly Bears	66

## List of Illustrations

	Page
Illus. 1    Picture of Thomas Rhoads	2
Illus. 2    Map Showing Rhoads' Home Areas In the East (Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri)	7
Illus. 3    Ray County, Missouri, Showing Richmond, Crooked River Township, Hardin	12
Illus. 4    Plat Showing Location of Rhodes, Forster, Esry Landholdings, Crooked River Township	12
Illus. 5    Map Showing Routes West to Fort Laramie	19
Illus. 6    Map Showing Routes West, Fort Laramie to California	29
Illus. 7    Map of Central California Showing Rhoads Land Holdings	37
Illus. 8    Map Showing Mormon Mormon Involvement in California Gold Fields	41
Illus. 9    Plat of north part of Salt Lake City Showing Location of Thomas Rhoads Home	56
Illus. 10   Rhoads Country	72
Illus. 11   Map of Utah showing locations associated with Rhoads (Salt Lake, Kamas Valley, Minersville, Kane County)	75

## Introduction

While researching **MORMON GOLD: THE STORY OF CALIFORNIA'S MORMON ARGONAUTS**, which is a history of the Mormon involvement in the gold fields of California, I came across several references to a Father Rhodes who came to Salt Lake in 1849 with some \$17,000 in gold. According to Brigham Young, this made him the "wealthiest man who came from the mines."

I wanted to know more about the richest Mormon to come out of that mining era but found almost no reference to him in the standard Mormon histories. He was a man of mystery. I wondered why.

A copy of the Rhodes-Boren story of The Lost Rhoades Mine, purportedly located in Utah, was found but as I reworked the references of the authors, I found a paucity of supportive detail for much of the story. I also came across the work of Norma Ricketts, whose major original contribution dealt with Rhoads' California experience and his trip to that Land of Promise.

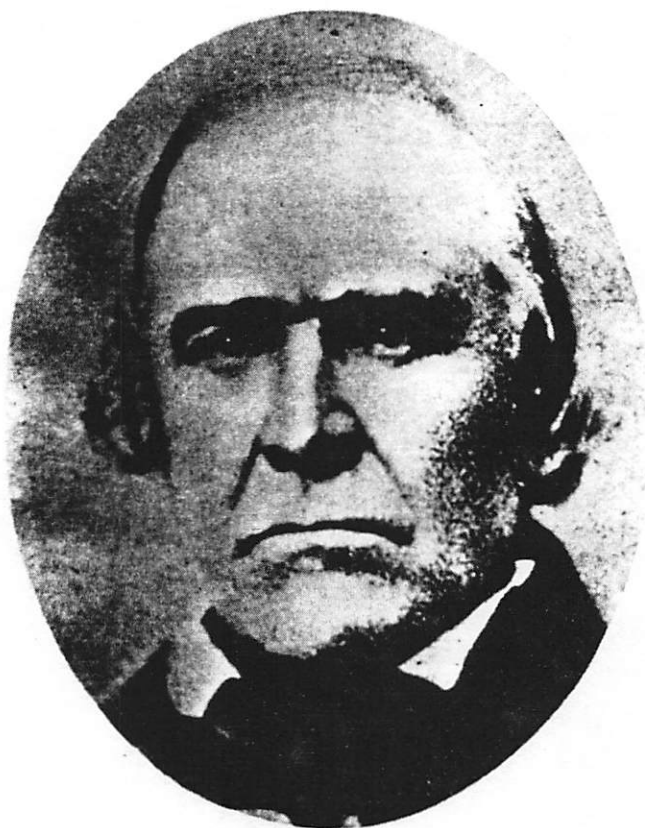
While I had no direct interest in Rhoads at the time, I wanted to produce a more complete and accurate story of this man of mystery. This work presents the results of my research, though no claim is made either as to its completeness or of its absolute accuracy. While I have tried to be objective and factual, it was impossible not to do some speculation where the facts were not known. In addition, I accepted the "facts" of others unless my research produced contradictory evidence.

The original edition of this work was published in 1980. Since that time I have had the benefit of personal visits to the area of the original Rhoads homestead on Crooked River in Ray County, Missouri and the location of his principal home in California, Slough House, as well as the comments and work of Ricketts and others.

I presented papers on Rhoads at the Missouri Valley Historical Society meetings in 1982 and the Mormon History Association meetings in Independence Missouri in May of 1985, eliciting considerable interest. With the last copies of the first edition becoming exhausted, the decision was made to rework the material into a substantial revision.

It is hoped that the reader will accept this short treatment as still a preliminary work. If any inaccuracies are detected, or if additional pertinent detail is known, please communicate them to me.

J. Kenneth Davies  
877 N. 700 W.  
Provo, Utah 84604



THOMAS RHOADS

Illus. 1 Thomas Rhoads (circa 1850s)

This is the only known photo of Rhoads, probably taken in Salt Lake when he was in his 60s. It was secured from Esshom's PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN OF UTAH.

## Chapter 1 The Mormon Convert

On the 5th of August, 1846, (1) Thomas Rhoads, (2) Kentucky-born Mormon and leader of an emigrant company bound for California looked out on the Great Salt Lake from the banks of the Weber River as it tumbled out of the High Uintah country. Unlike his better known fellow Mormon pioneers of the next year, he did not stay but moved on, south of the inland sea, onto the salt flats of present-day western Utah and Nevada and on to a Land of Promise, California.

Rhoads did not stop because at that point in time the Great Basin or Rocky Mountains, as the new Zion of the Mormon pioneers, had not been decided upon. At least if it had been, the intelligence had not been communicated to the body of Latter-day Saints. Most of them were camped across southern Iowa from the Missouri to the Mississippi river, awaiting the decision of their leader, Brigham Young, to "move out." Brother Brigham may have known where they were going, but the Saints, including Rhoads did not.

This little known drama has almost escaped historians, Mormon and non-Mormon alike. Oblique references are occasionally found, but they have lain on fallow ground, uncultivated, undeveloped and almost unknown. In one of the enigmas of a history that has been written and rewritten almost ad infinitum, Rhoads has remained a forgotten Mormon pioneer leader of 1846. He was possibly the innocent victim of a policy of the Mormon Church developed and promulgated in the mid-1800s, a policy apparently in opposition to the mining of gold and silver.

The anonymity may also have resulted from a disposition of historians to maintain Brigham Young in a position of preeminence in Mormon history. Preeminent the Mormon leader was, in terms of organizing and leading the mass of Mormon migration across the heart of America, in terms of founding an inland empire, in terms of his spiritual and temporal leadership. But he was not the first Latter-day Saint to view Salt Lake Valley. The honor of that position probably belongs to the almost forgotten Thomas Rhoads, trapper, explorer, gold miner, settler and community leader. (3)

Thomas Foster Rhoads (4) was born July 13 in either 1794 or 1795 at Boone's Fort in Logan County, Kentucky. He was the oldest child of the second marriage of Daniel Rhoads to Elizabeth Newman.

Both his father and grandfather were veterans of the American Revolution. His father fought at the battles of Bunker and Breeds hills in Massachusetts, drawn there from his Pennsylvania home. His grandfather had served in General Washington's bodyguard.

Both men had participated in the development of Kentucky, associating with Daniel Boone in his frontier ventures and settling there after the war. Like Boone, they lost their land in legal battles over land ownership in the early 1800s.

As a youth of eighteen, Thomas followed in the footsteps of both his father and grandfather, enlisting as a youth in the Kentucky militia in the War of 1812. He participated for three years in the Campaigns of the West, against the British who had not given up their hopes of empire on the North American continent. Their principal activity, however, was stirring up the Indians against the western settlers.(5)

The war ended in 1815 with, among other things, the securing for the U.S. of the land between the Appalachian mountains and the Mississippi and between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. This firming up of American claims opened the Old Northwest Territory to settlement by Americans. Like his contemporary and fellow Kentuckian, Abraham Lincoln, Rhoads was to emigrate in a few years to the frontiers of Illinois, was one of the states carved from that vast area.

In 1813, Thomas married Elizabeth Forster, a native of Pittsburg and the daughter of Thomas Forster. They set up house-keeping in Muhlenberg, Kentucky, she awaiting her husband's return from the war. (6) Their first children were twins: Forster and Polly, born the following year while he was still soldiering. The latter would lead him into a new religion some 21 years later.

Their births were followed by still born triplets. In 1818 another set of twins was born, John Pierce and Nancy, the latter dying (7) before adulthood. John lived to maturity and fleeting fame in California as one of the Donner Party rescuers.(8)

In 1820, Thomas and Elizabeth, along with other members of the growing Rhoads clan, moved into the wilderness of the Old Northwest, into what three years later would become Eldridge and Sims Townships of Edgar County, Illinois. They located near the central eastern borders of the infant state created just two years earlier, reportedly the first white settlers in the area. This move may have followed a short sojourn in Mississippi and/or Indiana.

The Rhoads family managed to survive and prosper in spite of the depredations of the dwindling Kickapoo Indians and the growing bands of frontier outlaws, no mean accomplishment. The nearest store at the time of their settlement was in Fort Harrison, forty miles distant.(9)

The next child, Daniel, was born in their new home near Paris, the Edgar County seat, in 1821. He, too, like his older brother John, would become noted for his role in the Donner



rescue. He was rapidly followed by eleven more children, a number of them being multiple (two sets of twins) and several dying before reaching maturity. (10) The power of multiple reproduction evidently lay with Thomas as the first births of a future marriage of Thomas consisted of triplets.

The 1830 Census for Edgar County (11) shows the Thomas Rhoads family as consisting of the following:

	Males	Females
Under 5 years	2	2
5-10 years	2	--
10-15 years	2	1
20-30 years	1	--
30-40 years	1	1

Thomas, basically a farmer, augmented his typically uncertain farming income by following his father and grandfather into the role of surveyor, parttime. This pursuit began as early as 1831 when he was named by the State of Illinois, along with two other men from neighboring counties, to survey that section of Central Eastern Illinois. (12) However, his handwriting was so poor that one wonders how he could function effectively in that occupation, except as an assistant. (13) He also had a contract for the construction of a portion of the National Pike in the vicinity of the Wabash River in Illinois. (14)

The early religious proclivities of the Rhoads family are unknown. However, in 1835, two Mormon missionaries, Levi Jackman and Caleb Baldwin were preaching in the area. Thomas' oldest daughter, Polly, was converted and baptized. Thomas and Elizabeth followed on June 23rd. (15) This was but five years after the Church of the Latter Day Saints was organized in New York State. Rhoads was ordained an elder in the Church on July 4th. (16)

The family may have first become aware of the Mormon sect in 1834. In the late spring of that year, a contingent of Mormons, called Zion's Camp, under the leadership of their Prophet, Joseph Smith, marched from Kirtland, near Lake Erie in Northeast Ohio, to the western frontier village of Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. Their mission was to lend support to their brethren who were in a state of siege on the frontiers of the infant state.

The Camp moved through Edgar County on May 24-26, 1834. After resting just east of Paris on Sunday, the 25th, they passed through that village on the 26th and into Coles County on the 27th. (17) There is no known record of Rhoads actually meeting the members of the Camp but such a movement would certainly have attracted the attention of the citizens for miles around.

The involvement of most of the rest of the family with the Mormon Church is not known. Thomas' wife, Elizabeth, and oldest

daughter, Polly, as already pointed out joined. If the family followed the admonition of the Mormon scriptures, the children eight years of age and older were also baptized. This would have included: Forster (1814), John and possibly Nancy (1818), Daniel (1821), Isaac (1822), Thomas, Jr. (app. 1825) and Elizabeth (app. 1826.) Of this group, only the membership of John and Isaac are known with reasonable certainty. (18)

Sarah and William Baldwin (1830), Catherine and Foster (1831), George W. (1833) and Henry C. (1834) probably followed suit, but if so not in Illinois. They reached eight years, the age of accountability according to the Mormon scriptures, in Missouri. But like most of their old brothers and sisters, records of their baptisms or memberships have not been located.

In 1836, Thomas' youngest son by Elizabeth was born in Paris in Edgar County, four miles distant from the Rhoads home, being credited as his birthplace. He was named Caleb Baldwin, after the dynamic Mormon missionary who had baptized Thomas the previous year. (19) Their last child, Lucinda, was born in the midst of the Missouri difficulties in Ray County in 1838 or 1839.

Illus. 2      Map Showing Locations of Rhoads' Home Areas in  
Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri.

Footnotes  
Chapter 1

1. An approximated day as seen later in a speculated development.
2. The spelling of Thomas Rhoads' name is one of the conundrums of this man of mystery. Ray County land records spell it Rhodes. In the earliest known Rhoads' letter written in 1846 he spelled it Rhodz. His daughter Polly spelled it Roads. The spelling on a map in California was Rhoads, which is generally the spelling used by his California descendents. Church accounts in 1849 and the 1850s generally spelled it Rhodes. His Utah descendents usually combine the California and Church and Missouri land record spellings using Rhoades.
3. This honor may have to be shared with Peter L. Wimmer who travelled to California in connection with the Harlan-Young party and who may have been a Mormon. Rhoads has tentatively been identified as associated with this group, one of the emigrants spelling Rhoads name as Roadies. In addition, a few weeks behind Harlan and Young was the Donner-Reed party which had a Mormon, Mrs. Lavinia Murphy, with several of her children. A number of these died in the party's disastrous attempt to cross the Sierra Nevada mountains.
4. Gale R. Rhoades and Kerry Ross Boren, A HISTORY OF THE LOST RHOADES MINES. No publisher, 1971, pp.3,4; J. M. Quinn, HISTORY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA. Chapman Publishing Co., 1905. p.445. Much of the following detail comes from Rhoades-Boren.
5. Thomas Rhoads, Biographical Sketch, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter abbreviated Church Archives. As the records of Rhoads' military service are not found in the National Archives, he probably served in the state militia.
6. Norma Ricketts, "Thomas and Elizabeth Rhoades." Privately published by Ricketts, 1972.
7. Ibid. A family genealogical group sheet shows her dying about 1849, having never married. Church Archives.
8. THE PONY EXPRESS, Bancroft Library, September, 1946. Ricketts, op cit.
9. Rhoades-Boren, op cit p.8; Guinn, op cit.
10. THE PONY EXPRESS, op cit; Ricketts, op cit; Guinn, op cit.

11. U.S. Census, Edgar County, Illinois, 1830.
12. Rhoades-Boren, op cit p.8
13. Thomas Rhoads, Correspondence, July 1845. Church Archives.
14. AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SACRAMENTO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA. The Lewis Publishing Co. 1890. p. 641
15. Thomas Rhoads, Biographical Sketch, op cit; Levi Jackman Journal. A portion of this journal taken from the journal of Baldwin's missionary company, Levi Jackman, was furnished the author by Norma Ricketts and is in the author's possession.
16. In its early years, the Mormon Church was called The Church of Christ and the Church of the Latter Day Saints. In the mid-1830s it was officially named the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. This is the form used by the Reorganized Church which later followed Joseph Smith the Third. In the early 1840s a slight change was made to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which is the form generally used by the main body of the Church which followed Brigham Young's leadership.
17. Manuscript History of Illinois. Church Archives.
18. Amasa M. Lyman, Papers. Church Archives.
19. The fact that an earlier son, William Baldwin, also had the same second name, leads to the possibility that one of the Rhoads family heads was related to the Baldwins.

## Chapter 2

### Poor Bleeding Zion

A year following his baptism, Thomas moved to the Crooked River Township in Ray County, Missouri. He may have followed a relative, a George Rhodes, who had acquired land in that county in 1821. As a reward for his military service, he was able to acquire eighty acres of Patented Land on August 11, 1836. (1)

This acquisition took place two weeks after the passage of a resolution, dated July 25, 1836, by a general assembly of the Saints in the home of W. W. Phelps in the adjacent Clay County. Years later, Phelps would become a neighbor and exploring partner of Rhoads in Deseret (Utah.) It is conceivable that Thomas was present at that meeting.

The resolution referred to the location of a hundred wagons and tents on "Crooked River in the lower part of Ray County," and threatened with mobbing and pestilence. Because of their misery and the high price of foodstuffs and land, additional Saints on their way were urged to remain where they were. Two Elders were commissioned to collect donations from Saints in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, the money to be placed in the hands of the presidency in Zion for the "building and benefit of 'Poor bleeding Zion.'" A committee was also appointed to search out lands for the Church to settle on. (2)

The location of the large group of Saints "on Crooked River in the lower part of Ray County" would have placed them in the vicinity of the Rhoads property, which was just outside the village of Hardin in Crooked River Township, seven or so miles southeast of Richmond, the county seat. It is possible that they were temporarily camped on the land which Thomas had most likely already identified and surveyed for purposes of acquisition.

Later that year, the citizens of Clay County, following the example of the residents of Jackson County, forced the Mormons to leave their midst. The state's political leaders, to defuse the political situation, created Caldwell and Daviess counties from the northern portion of Ray County, specifically for the Mormons. (3)

Rhoads remained in Ray County, adding 160 acres of Patented Land to his holdings in October of that same year. (4)

He evidently not only prospered but also remained faithful to the cause of Zion as evidenced by the fact that he was issued a Letter of Recommendation by Missouri Church leaders (5) the following year. The letter reads:

To Whom It May Concern

This certifies that Thomas Rhoades has been received into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, organized on the sixth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty and has been ordained an Elder according to the rules and regulations of said church, and is duly authorized of that office.

From the satisfactory evidence which we have of his good moral character and his zeal for the cause of righteousness and diligent desire to persuade men to forsake evil and embrace truth, we confidently recommend him to all candid and upright people as a worthy member of society.

We therefore, in the name, and by authority of this church, grant unto this our worthy brother in the Lord, this letter of recommendation as proof of our fellowship and esteem, praying for his success and prosperity in our redeemer's cause.

Given by the direction of a conference of the elders of said church assembled in Far West, Caldwell Co., Mo. 7th Dec. in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty seven.

W. W. Phelps, Clerk  
Dec. 16, 1837

David Whitmer, Chairman

Received Dec. 16, 1837 and seconded

Oliver Cowdery  
Recording Clerk

A year later, 1838, would find all three men signing the above document disaffected and outside of the Church. Cowdery, who had served as Joseph Smith's scribe in the translation of the Book of Mormon, as well as one of its witnesses, would return to the fold a decade later. W. W. Phelps, one of the earliest Mormon converts, would shortly return, migrating to the Rocky Mountains with the body of the Saints. Whitmer, one of the witness of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, remained in Missouri, disaffected but faithful to his testimony of that volume.

While these three men were caught up in the internal conflicts that wreaked havoc on the persecuted and confused infant church, as far as is known, Thomas remained free of the strife.

Rhoads continued to prosper in spite of the troubles, adding eighty acres of adjoining patented land to his farm in March of 1838. This addition probably indicated success in proving up his

**Illus. 3      Map of Ray County Missouri showing Richmond, Hardin,  
and Crooked River Township with Rhoads farm located.**

**Illus. 4      Plat showing location of Rhodes, Forster and Esry  
landholdings in Crooked River Township**



previous acquisitions by developing them. Helping him was his large family as well as his blacks. Relatives and friends, the Forsters and the Esreys lived nearby, all of them probably lending mutual support.

By the fall of 1838, the Missouri pressures against the Saints had begun again to build up, even in Ray County. Armed "Missouri Pukes," as the Mormons untactfully, if understandably, referred to their enemies, patrolled the borders of Ray and Caldwell counties ostensibly to protect the former county from a rumored invasion of Mormons from the latter. (6)

These pressures became so great that two Mormon Apostles, Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Hyde, deserted their brethren, coming to Richmond, and issuing affidavits in support of the Mormons' enemies. They testified as to the existence of a secret band of Mormon zealots, called the Danites, supposedly formed to follow without question the orders of the Mormon leaders, and with plans to burn Liberty and Richmond, county seats of Clay and Ray counties.

In October, Mormon forces under Apostle David Patten and Missourians under Captain Bogart, skirmished on Crooked River with deaths and injuries on both sides. News of the "battle" spread and the Mormons were blamed. Reports of Mormon outrages and the planned invasion were made to Governor Lilburn W. Boggs.

Acting, apparently without much if any corroboration, the governor ordered out two thousand members of the state militia, issuing his famous (infamous to Mormons) Order of Extermination of October 27, 1838. In this order he said that "The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace... ." (7)

There then began a pogrom implementing the orders which would see many of the Mormons, including Joseph Smith, his counselor Sidney Rigdon, and even Caleb Baldwin, Rhoads' spiritual mentor, imprisoned in the Liberty jail. It would also see the invasion of Mormon communities and homes by mobs supported by the state militia and the summary murder of Mormon men, women and children. That winter, the Saints as a body fled Missouri to Illinois, establishing Nauvoo on the Mississippi as the headquarters of their new Zion. (8)

Somehow, through all of this, Rhoads and his family remained aloof or at least unnoted. There is no mention in the Mormon histories of the period of any member of the Rhoads family being involved in the exodus. They were not found among those Saints who formally pledged themselves to either leave the state or to assist others to do so. Nor were they publically involved in the trials of Mormon leaders in nearby Richmond or Liberty.

There is little question that the Rhoads family remained in

Ray County, at least through 1840 and probably through 1846. In June, July and October of the earlier year, Thomas added a total of 220 acres of Patented Land adjacent to the holdings he had obtained in 1836, to which he had previously added eighty acres in the early spring of 1838. This gave him a total of 520 acres of choice farmland. (9)

In addition to his land holdings, the Rhoads household was also found in Ray County in 1840. (10) It consisted of:

	Males	Females
His own family:		
Under 5 years	1	3
5-10 years	3	2
10-15 years	2	1
15-20 years	1	--
20-30 years	--	--
40-50 years	1	1
His slave or black family:		
Under 10 years	4	3
10-24 years	5	2
36-55 years	1	2

The question still remains, however. How could the Rhoads family have remained in Ray County following the Mormon Exodus in the winter of 1838-39?

It is easy to speculate that the family must have become apostate as was true for many other Mormons, such as David Whitmer, who had remained behind. However, a recently discovered note in the LDS Church Archives, written in 1845 refers to Thomas Rhoads as both "wealthy and honorable" It adds: "He has stood the fire and never flinches." (11) These words do not describe a man who had deserted the faith. In addition, the fact that he came to Salt Lake City at the height of the California Gold Rush in 1849, and was welcomed with open arms by the Church leaders, would seem to indicate that he had remained faithful. (12)

It is possible that Rhoads was secretly a Danite. However there is no evidence that he was. In an expose' of the Danites written years later (13), when he had achieved considerable notoriety, he was not mentioned.

It is also possible that Thomas, who was well established in Missouri, was an in cognito Mormon, not known as such to the outside world and to but a few Mormon leaders. If so, this would certainly explain the failure of accounts of the westward migration written at the time to include him as a Mormon emigre. (14)

It also may be that a purported "shirt tail" relationship to

Governor Boggs placed him in a protected position. (15) Whatever the explanation, Rhoads remained behind in Missouri when the Saints left.

What if any Church activity there was in Ray County, or for that matter western Missouri, between 1838 and 1846, when he left the state, is not known at this time. However, Thomas did not lose his devotion to Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, nor the Mormon cause.

In June of 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum were murdered in their cell in the Carthage, Illinois jail while supposedly under the protection of the Governor, Thomas Ford and the Illinois State Militia. It was Missouri all over again but this time the mobs succeeded where they had earlier failed in eliminating Joseph Smith..

If Thomas had been undercover in Missouri, he broke his cover within a few weeks of his Prophet's martyrdom, coming to a weeping Nauvoo.

In July of 1845, Rhoads sent a short note to the "Brethren at the City of Joseph." (15) In a specimen of very poor, labored handwriting and language, (which while poor would indicate that he was not illiterate as well as the fact that he had not used a scribe) he pleaded with the Brethren on behalf of a friend, Simson:

"I am well and my hear (heart) is with you. Let this out if anyone there can believe I say friend Simson iz our friend and is well off Do not for god sake have his feelings hurt.

Farewell god blez you al  
Thos Rhodz"

A note on the address side, which unfortunately gives no indication of where the letter was written from, someone, apparently in the confidence of the Church leaders, wrote:

"This is to give you full confidence in what I say. Rhodz as you are well (aware?) is wealthy and honorable. He has stood the fire and never flinches. You no doubt know he left home and went to Nauvoo at the fatal catastrophe at the death of Joseph. I think this last will compell him yet to leave this state."

While the letter and the accompanying note answer a few questions, they fail to answer others and raise a few of their own. Who is "friend Simson" whose feelings might be hurt? How? Could this have been reference to Sampson Avard? What had happened and where that would compel Thomas to leave what state? Where was Thomas' home? Whatever the questions, Rhoads was identified as wealthy, honorable, courageous and faithful.

It is possible that Rhoads had moved to Illinois, as claimed by the Rhoades-Boren story. (16) However, unless he moved to Illinois for only a short time, that would be in conflict with the accounts of Lucinda and Daniel Rhoads, who both stated that the family left from St. Joseph in 1846. (17) In addition, the records of Nauvoo do not identify him in any way with that city or its environs. (18)

Thomas evidently avoided the many Mormon schisms that followed the death of Joseph Smith, those of: Sidney Rigdon, Joseph's erstwhile counselor, William Smith, the Prophet's brother, James J. Strang, a recent convert, Bishop William Miller, and Apostle Lyman Wight.

Thomas' trip to Nauvoo, shortly after Joseph's death, might well have placed him at the Church conference on August 8, 1844 when Rigdon presented his abortive claim to Church leadership while the "Mantle of the Prophet" according to many participants fell upon the short, stocky, firm-jawed and practical Brigham Young.

Chapter 2  
Footnotes

1. Land Records, Ray County, Missouri.
2. Far West Record, Church Archives.
3. B. H. Roberts, COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. Deseret News Press. Vol. 1, pp. 314-368, 413-436.
4. Land Records, op cit.
5. Far West Record, op cit.
6. Roberts, op cit 447-474.
7. Ibid. p. 479. This order was officially rescinded in 1976.
8. See any standard history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
9. Land Records, op cit.
10. U.S. Census, Ray County, Missouri, 1840
11. Thomas Rhoads, Letter of July 1845. Church Archives.
12. See Chapter 7.
13. J. H. Beadle, BRIGHAM'S DESTROYING ANGELS. George A. Crofutt, 1872.
14. See Dale Morgan, OVERLAND IN 1846. Talisman Press, 1963.
15. Thomas Rhoads Letter, op cit. (Words in brackets, author's)
16. Rhoades-Boren, op cit.
17. See Chapter 3.
18. Nauvoo Records, Church Archives

### Chapter 3 Westward to Fort Laramie

In the spring of 1846, in fulfillment of the speculation found in the note on his letter to "The Brethren at the City of Joseph" written the previous July, Rhoads left Crooked River with most of the members of his family. His eldest son, Forster, remained behind to look after the family interests.

In 1904, Lucinda, Thomas' youngest daughter by Elizabeth, gave an interview in which she described the trip west. While the rumination leaves much to be desired in terms of accuracy, it will nevertheless be presented here as found in the Deseret News.

The writer of the article reported:

That the whole section of Missouri was excited over "Mormonism" and early in 1846 so many had been driven out by having their property destroyed (1) that Mr. Rhoads determined to emigrate. The Saints then were talking of going west and Brigham Young had taken the initiative towards the western migration. It is a matter of history, of course, that the leader did not then know just where the Saints would settle, but the land of California (2) was most frequently spoken of. Rhoads was led to believe that California was to be the "Mormon" home. In any event, he determined to strike out ahead of the Pioneers, and if he went too far, return after the settlement was made. (3)

Lucinda is then quoted as saying:

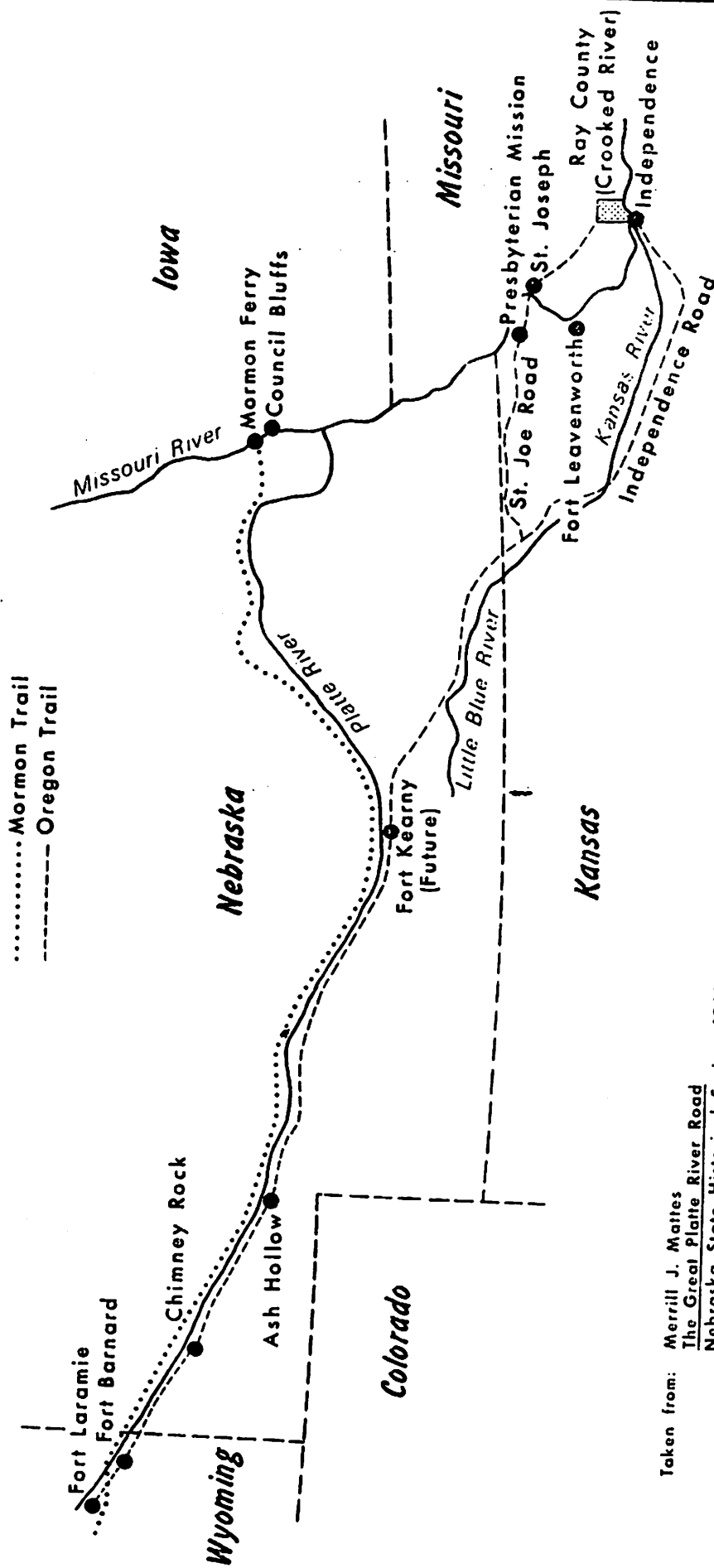
My father was a natural born pioneer and he made the most careful preparations for the journey. There were eight of us besides father--five brothers and two sisters older than myself. We had two wagons, two milch cows, plenty of bacon and beans and flour; in fact, I believe our outfit was a little better than the average pioneer was able to muster. (4)

As may be seen from the accompanying map, (5) the most direct route to the Platte from Crooked River in Ray County was northwest to St. Joseph. Not only was it the most direct route but it would avoid a confrontation between the Rhoads company and the Russell-Boggs train being formed up west of Independence.

In addition, there were rumors that Mormons were planning to cross the Missouri at St. Joseph and Rhoads may have planned to join them there. Or it is possible that Rhoads and Company were sent

Illus. 5 Map showing routes west to Fort Laramie

# Principal Routes from the Missouri to Fort Laramie 1846-47



Taken from: Merrill J. Mattes  
The Great Platte River Road  
Nebraska State Historical Society 1969



by Brigham Young as a diversionary move to distract the attention of the Missourians from Council Bluffs, where the Saints planned to cross that mighty river.

The number of people in the Rhoads company is uncertain. Rhoades-Boren place it at 200 persons. (6) Lucinda limited the number to a dozen or so. (7) The California descendents of Rhoads claim at least 38 persons to have been in the party upon arrival in California. (8) The latter figure is supported by a letter secured by Ricketts from Thomas' California descendents. Thomas' company consisted of the following: (9)

Thomas and Elizabeth Forster Rhoads

Eleven unmarried children: Isaac ,23; Thomas Jr., 21; Elizabeth, 19; Sarah Pierce, 17; William Baldwin, 17; Catherine, 15; Foster, 15; George W., 13; (10) Henry, 11; Caleb, 10; and Lucinda, 8.

Two grandchildren, children of Forster:

Mary and Elvira

Son, John Pierce Rhoads and wife Matilda Fanning and six children

Son, Daniel Rhoads and wife Amanda Esrey (whom he had married in 1843)

Daughter, Polly and her husband Turner Elder and one son (11) Joseph and Isaac House

John and Christine Forster Patterson and baby

The Fanning Boys

The Esrey Boys (probably Justin, James, Thomas and Jonathan)

Most of those in the party appear to have been residents of Ray County and relatives of the Rhoads family.

Because of the highwater spring runoff, they probably crossed the Missouri on one of the two ferries rather than ford the river. These were most likely either the Main or the Upper (Parrot's) ferry, in or near St. Joseph.

Amanda Esrey Rhoads, wife of Daniel, wrote to her family in Ray County on June 15, 1846, from Fort Laramie.(12) She says that the company crossed the Missouri River on May 6 and 7, camping three days later on Wolf River where some Iowa Sox Indians stole some of their cattle. Thomas and Daniel went to the nearby Indian agency which replaced their lost cattle. They travelled a hundred miles from there in company with sixteen wagons. Splitting up, they travelled with their own ten wagons for 150 miles going up the Big Blue River and then overland to the Platte, passing up several companies headed for Oregon.

They overtook and joined a California bound company, constituting a total of thirty wagons, traveling with them the rest of the way to Fort Laramie. While traveling up the Platte, Pawnees raided their livestock, stealing most of their horses.

Coming to the South Fork, they travelled up it looking for a suitable crossing. On the second day, they crossed the swollen river with great difficulty, moving north to the North Fork. They had snow on the last day of May. On the 12th of June they met a company that had gone to the western coast the previous season and were returning for their families. Some had been in both California and Oregon and reported that Oregon was the best country, the former being too hot. California reportedly had the advantage of plentiful and lower cost of goods.

The company reached Fort Laramie, a fur trading post, by June 15th when Amanda wrote her folks.

A somewhat different version of the trip west is provided by an account by Quinn of trip west by Daniel Rhoads, the husband of Amanda, written some ten years after his death. (13) It gives Thomas' son the credit for instigating the trip west, leaving out any reference to the relationship of the family to Mormonism.

Upon reaching manhood, he (Daniel) became interested in an account of John C. Fremont's first trip to California, and he therefore set about making plans to follow the example of this earlier pioneer. Interesting his family and friends in his proposed departure, he outfitted with two yoke of oxen, a wagon, rifle, ammunition and provisions, making the start from home as soon as the snow was off the ground in the spring of 1846. On this journey he was accompanied by his wife, his father and family, his uncle and family and a brother-in-law and family, and during the portion of the time they traveled with other emigrants bound for the same elusive goal.

Crossing the Missouri river April 7, 1846, (14) at St. Joseph Mo., they entered California by the Donner Lake route, passing through Emigrant Gap October 4 of the same year. They were fortunate in escaping any hostile encounter with the Indians, but when near Grand Island, on the big Platte river, a band of Pawnee Indians managed to stampede all but three of their train of horses not interfering, however, with their cattle, which they managed to bring through almost intact. (15)

The only other known body of Mormons moving northwest through Kansas in 1846 was the group later referred to as the Mississippi Saints. The chronicler of that group was John Brown who was to return to Missouri with Thomas Rhoads on a mission for the Church in 1853. This group also included a substantial number of Saints from Southern Illinois, under the leadership of Robert Crow, which joined them near Independence.

Because the movement of this group, though several weeks behind the Rhoads company, was closely parallel it is summarized.

According to Brown:

We were instructed by President Young to leave our families here and take those families that were ready and go west with them through Missouri and fall in with the companies from Nauvoo, in the Indian country. . .we arrived (at Independence) on the 26th of May. . .There was great excitement there. Rumor said that Ex-Governor Boggs had started to California and the Mormons had intercepted him on the way and killed and robbed several companies, etc. They tried to persuade us not to go on the plains on account of these Mormons, but we told them we were not afraid.

Brown continued:

We traveled the Platte Rhoad from Independence and expected when we got to the Platte River to have fallen in with the company from Nauvoo or find their trail, but we found neither, and could hear nothing of them. We supposed they had gone up the north side, so we continued our journey up the river though some were very loath to go. . . .

July 1st we reached Ash Hollow. . .We here met a company from California by whom we learned that there were no Mormons on the route ahead of us. (16)

A few miles below Laramie, we met with Mr. John Reshaw (17) (who) said he heard the Mormons were going up the South Fork of the Platte. We held a council and concluded to go no further west but find a place for the company to winter on the east side of the mountains. (18)

It was late in the season, at least for an attempt to reach the western coast, the projected destination of the Saints. The Mississippi-Illinois group decided to accompany Reshaw to Fort Pueblo several hundred miles south on the Arkansas River, to await the next season.

From the account of these Saints, it may be hypothesized that Rhoads and his family group moved west under much the same conditions. They, too, were possibly ordered west by Brigham Young to join the main body of Saints someplace along the Platte. If so they probably remained ignorant of the the change of plans by Church leaders at Council Bluffs. This change was made necessary by the recruitment toward the end of June of the Mormon Battalion, from among the Saints strung out along the southern border of Iowa, for the war with Mexico. The main body of the Saints would not move out until the next spring.

The departure of the Rhoads company from Missouri on May 6

and 7 put them a week behind the Wm. E. Taylor company, which left St. Joseph on April 29 and arrived at Fort Laramie on June 10th. This was not a Mormon company but because of the close parallel in both time and route, the Taylor itinerary will be summarized. (19)

April 29	Left St. Joseph by way of Parrots Ferry--5 miles above town
May 1	Crossed river--very high
May 6	Wolf river--trouble getting over
May 7	Symptoms of discord in the company
May 10	Came to Independence Trail
May 21	Reached the Nebraska (Platte) River
May 30	Crossed South Fork of the Platte
June 1	Snow storm at Ash Hollow
June 5	Crossed Sandy River
June 6	Passed Chimney Rock
June 7	Passed Scotts Bluff
June 10	Reached Fort Laramie, Temp. 100 degrees

The time of arrival of the arrival of the Rhoads company at Fort Laramie makes possible some connection with the historian Francis Parkman (20) who traveled to Fort Laramie from Fort Leavenworth, which was about mid-way between St. Joseph and Independence. Leaving Leavenworth on May 13, he reached the St. Joseph road which the Rhoads company was travelling, on May 24th.

As Parkman neared the Big Blue River, he was apprehensive. He was convinced that several parties he saw were Mormons, whom he had been led to believe had shortly before left St. Joseph. At least one of these parties may have actually been that of Rhoads. Parkman described one company in ominous tones:

About dark a sallow-faced fellow descended the hill on horseback, and splashing through the pool, road up to the tent. He was enveloped in a huge cloak, and his broad felt hat was weeping about his ears with the drizzling moisture of the evening. Another followed, a stout, square-built, intelligent looking man who announced himself as leader of an emigrant party, encamped a mile in advance of us. About twenty wagons, he said, were with him; the rest of this party were on the other side of the Big Blue, waiting for a woman who was in the pains of childbirth, and quarreling among themselves. (21)

The next morning, Parkman's group overtook the emigrants and he records:

Half a dozen yellow-visaged Missourians, mounted on horseback, were cursing and shouting among them, their lank, angular proportions enveloped in brown homespun, evidently cut and

adjusted by the hands of a domestic tailor. . .as we pushed rapidly by the wagons, children's faces were thrust out from the white coverings to look at us; While the careworn, thin featured matron or the buxom girl. . . were engaged to stare at us with wondering curiosity. . . It was easy to see that dissension prevailed among them; some of the men. . .looked wistfully upon us as we rode swiftly by, and then impatiently at their own lumbering wagons and heavy gaited oxen. . . Many were murmuring against the leader they had chosen and wished to depose him.. . .(22)

A few days later, the Parkman company had wagon troubles near the Platte River. It was about a week before they were able to overtake again the slower moving emigrant train. They were by then in Pawnee country and the fear of Indian depredations kept the two companies in close proximity for a couple of weeks, sharing guard duty responsibilities.

As the Parkman company reached the Platte, they came upon another emigrant company. He records:

A party of them came out to meet us, looking upon us at first with cold suspicious faces. . .They had taken us for the van of the much dreaded Mormons, whom they were apprehensive of encountering. We made known our true character, and they greeted us cordially. . .We rode with them to their camp. The wagons, some fifty in number. . .were arranged as usual in a circle; the best horses were picketed in the area within, and the circumference was glowing with the dusky light of fires. . . Yankee curiosity was nothing to theirs. They demanded our names, whence we came, whither we were going, and what was our business. . .Yet they were fine-looking fellows, with an air of frankness, generosity, and even courtesy, having come from one of the less barbarous frontier countries. (23)

On June 8, Parkman remarked on the distressed condition of another company which had lost many horses and cattle, so many that "they have not enough cattle to carry on, and are in great trouble."

The Rhoads party suffered much the same experience and could have been the party referred to by Parkman. In fact they may have been any one of the parties referred to by the historian.

On June 12, Parkman overtook an eastward bound company. (24) This was the same date the Rhoads party encountered such a group. He reached Fort Laramie on June 15, the same day Amanda Esrey Rhoads wrote to her parents from that frontier trading post.

Unfortunately for this account, Parkman stopped at the fort not proceeding any further west. The fact that he was

aware and wary of Mormons, but not privy to the fact that he was probably traveling in company with such, attests to the success of Thomas Rhoads in keeping his religious affiliation secret.

The account of Lucinda, who was a little girl at the time and who recounted the experience many years later, placed the Rhoads company with the Donner-Reed Party for a period of time in advance of the latter's move through the Wasatch mountains of present-day Utah. The time and much of the geography is incongruous with such an association, at least up to Fort Laramie.

The Donner-Reed party left Independence, some distance south of St. Joseph, on May 12, a week after Rhoads left St. Joseph. They reached Fort Laramie about the 27th of June, almost two weeks after Rhoads' arrival at the fort. Such an association was therefore not likely. (24)

It is possible that the Rhoads company, or part of it, remained at the fort awaiting the arrival of the main body of the Mormons or to allow a possibly ailing Elizabeth to recoup her strength. If so, they could have connected up with the Donner-Reed group which left Fort Laramie about July 1st. However, the accounts of the latter make no mention of such association nor does the account of Amanda, written after the Rhoads group reached California.

Another group of emigrants with which Rhoads may have had some connection was the Russell-Boggs train. (25) It was one of the largest and best known wagon trains to leave Missouri that season and was led by Colonel William Henry Russell. It included the ex-governor of Missouri, Lilburn W. Boggs, who had issued the Extermination Order in 1838.

This group left the vicinity of Independence shortly after May 11th. Beginning with 63 wagons, it grew as other groups appended themselves to it, finally reaching an impractical 128 units. This growth was precipitated by fear of both the Indians and the Mormons. However, as the rumored Mormon forces failed to materialize and as the threat of Indians seemed to recede, the internal frictions normal to such a drive blossomed. Group after group broke off to find their own way west. The train, with only 46 wagons reached Fort Laramie about June 27 or 28, almost two weeks after Rhoads.

### Chapter 3

#### Footnotes

1. The author is unaware of any renewed Missouri persecution in 1845 or 1846.
2. "California" at that time included the area between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast, and south of the present-day northern boundaries of California, Nevada and Utah.
3. Lucinda Rhoades Dodge, Deseret Semi-Weekly News, July 28, 1904.
4. Ibid.
5. Map taken from Merrill J. Mattes, THE GREAT PLATTE RIVER ROAD, Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969.
6. Lucinda Rhoades Dodge, op cit.
7. Ibid.
8. Norma Ricketts, "Thomas and Elizabeth Rhoades," Published by author, April 22, 1972.
9. Ibid.
10. A George W. Rhoades is listed as an unsuccessful bidder on a government contract in California in 1848. If the above age is correct he would have been only fifteen at the time.
11. A Martin Elder married a Polly Ann Walters in Ray County, Missouri in 1845. If Martin and Turner are the same man, Thomas' daughter may have been previously married to someone by the name of Walters.
12. Amanda Esrey Rhoads Letter of June 15, 1846. A copy of this letter was made available to the author by Norma Ricketts, who secured it from a descendent of Daniel and Amanda Rhoads.
13. Quinn, op cit.
14. A month earlier than Amanda's letter indicates. Amanda's date appears to be the more accurate.
15. Quinn, op cit.
16. Evidently unbeknown to Clyman who was leading this group, the Rhoads company was on the trail. See Charles C. Camps, JAMES CLYMAN, FRONTIERSMAN, Champoege Press, Portland, Oregon, pp.224-226.
17. Reported by Brown as Reshaw, he was variously known as Kershaw and Roberts.

18. John Z. Brown, PIONEER JOHN BROWN, no publisher, 1941, pp. 66-71. Words in brackets, author's. It is possible that this "rumor" so called was based on the fact of Rhoads' presence on the trail.
19. Dale Morgan, OVERLAND IN 1846, Talisman Press, 1963, pp. 118-131.
20. Francis Parkman, THE OREGON TRAIL, Grosset and Dunlap, 1927, pp. 32-82.
21. Ibid
22. Ibid
23. Ibid
24. See any standard treatment of the Donner-Reed party.
25. Morgan, op cit, pp. 256-261.



## Chapter 4 Fort Laramie to Emigrant Gap

The story of the Thomas Rhoads company, as obscure and confusing as is to this point, is even more bewildering from Fort Laramie to Emigrant Gap. There are two major, seemingly contradictory first hand accounts supplemented by several equally confusing historical fragments from which to draw the tale.

Amanda Esrey Rhoads wrote from California to her parents in Ray County in the summer of 1847 summarizing the trip. (1) She informed them that Jonathan Patterson, who had evidently made the trip in their company, had died and was buried "near the plains of California," presumably present-day Nevada. She announced their arrival as the first day of October, several days in advance of the date offered years later by Quinn. (2)

From Fort Laramie, they had travelled up the Sweetwater to South Pass, as with all other companies using the Oregon Trail. Shortly after leaving the Pass, they took the Greenwood (Sublette) Cutoff from the Big Sandy to the Green River which entailed traveling two days and nights without water or grass. Amanda failed to say whether or not they went by way of Fort Hall or if they took the short cut across present-day southern Idaho in the vicinity of Soda Springs.

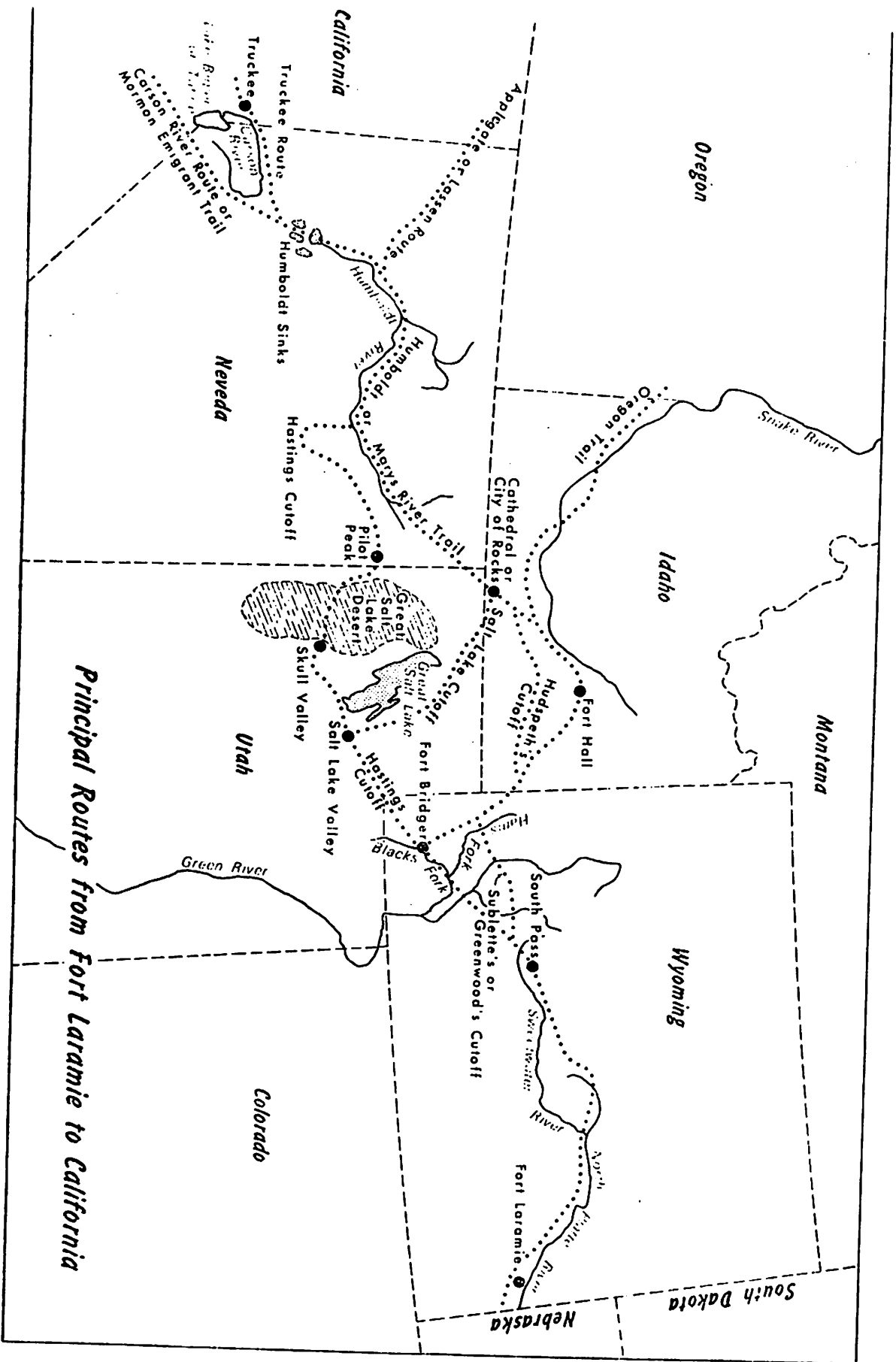
They travelled from the headwaters of the St. Marys (Humboldt) River south and then west down to the Sinks where the river's brackish waters disappeared into the porous earth.

From the Sinks, they went by way of the Boiling Springs to the "Truckee" (Truckee) River which they were then forced to cross 27 times as it tumbled down from the High Sierras. It was about four miles from the valley floor to the summit, taking three days to cover.

They, presumably her and Daniel, got in with their three yoke of oxen, two horses and one cow. Father Rhoads was said to have arrived with seven or eight yoke of oxen, three horses and eighteen head of loose cattle. John, Daniel's older brother was the first to run out of provisions, before they reached their destination, followed by Father Rhoads. Amanda and Daniel shared with them, but finally ran out themselves. John rode on in, probably to Johnson's Ranch, the first white habitation, bringing corn out to the company. It was a trip he would make several times later that winter, on foot, in the Donner-Reed rescue attempts.

The accompanying map shows the major routes west used in 1846.

Illus. 6 Map showing routes west, Fort Laramie to California



While Amanda presented the details of the trip west in a confused and disorganized way, the above is apparently the story and is rather straight-forward. Lucinda's account begins to confuse things. Her story of this leg of the trip follows:

We came to the point where two routes to California lay before us. Some of the discontented were strongly in favor of taking the Hastings cut-off while the conservative people wanted to continue along the middle route. My father insisted upon the latter while Donner and his following declared their intention of following the Hastings cut-off. We parted, and father piloted us through to California without further incident. (3)

Lucinda's account, which serves as the basis for the account provides several problems. If the Rhoads company traveled with the Donner party, they must have remained at Fort Laramie for about two weeks. This is a possibility as Mother Elizabeth, who was to die a year later in California, may have been ailing. The party may have stopped there for awhile either to let her recoup or to await word of Brigham Young and the Saints.

It is also possible that the company split up at Fort Laramie some going ahead, others remaining long enough to connect up with the Donner party.

If the entire company stayed together at that time, they may have separated when they came to Greenwood's (Sublette's) cut-off. If they separated there, the portion of the company with Daniel and Amanda took that trail. It could scarcely be the "middle route" referred to by Lucinda, being the more northerly of the trails west. The route taken by most companies that season continued southwest from South pass to Fort Bridger.

If some of the company remained on the more traditional route, Fort Bridger was the next point at which a decision had to be made, whether to travel west down Echo Canyon to the Weber River or to head northwest toward Fort Hall, with another cut-off through the Soda Springs area, avoiding Fort Hall, possible.

If some of the company went down Echo Canyon, at the Weber River they had to make another decision. The two known choices were either on Hastings cut-off over Big Mountain, which was unproven for wagon travel and which the Donner-Reed party unfortunately took, or down the river to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, which was the route taken by all other companies heading west from Bridger that year. Among those companies taking this latter route was the Harlan-Young party with which Thomas may have been associated.

Lucinda's account is consistent with any of the routes, after the Greenwood cut-off left the main Oregon-California Trail

other than the Hastings cut-off up over Big Mountain. That is, if the company split up, Thomas could have gone to Fort Bridger, then to either Fort Hall or Soda Springs. Or he could have opted to going down Echo Canyon to the Weber River and down it to Salt Lake Valley.

To further confuse the story, there are two additional pioneer accounts of 1846 which mention the name Rhoads or one of its possible alternatives. These are the accounts of John R. McBride (4) and Heinrich Lienhard. (5)

Some years after his trip west as a youth of fourteen, McBride recounted the story of his family's move to Oregon under the leadership of his father, Thomas Allen McBride. The family left St. Joseph on April 17, three weeks in advance of the Rhoads company if the more acceptable date for its departure is used.

On July 3, the party was about thirty miles east of South Pass where they met Hastings. Influenced by him, they bypassed the Greenwood cut-off, going to Fort Bridger, but then turned northwest through Bear Valley and taking the Soda Springs cut-off.

From Soda Springs they went to the Raft River where the company split up, some going on to Oregon, the others, under Elam Brown, going on to California. This latter segment included several men named Rhodes (Rhoads?) as well as Alvis and Thomas Kinsey.

The problem with this story vis a vis the Thomas Rhoads party is that the Rhodes group was much too small to be that of the full Rhoads company which consisted of about forty persons. It does approximate the size of the group as given by Lucinda (four females and six males).

The story is also inconsistent with Amanda's letter which avers that they avoided Fort Bridger by taking the Greenwood cut-off. It is also inconsistent with a Donner-Reed connection both by virtue of the geography and the time element. It is also somewhat at odds with the date of the Rhoads entry into California.

If the group had left Fort Hall on July 11, as given by McBride, and they had travelled straight through to California, they could have reached Emigrant Gap about the first of September, a month in advance of Daniel and Amanda's entrance into that land of opportunity. There may have been some Rhodeses in the McBride party, but they were probably not immediate members of the Thomas Rhoads family.

On the other hand, if the Rhoads clan left Fort Bridger with Caleb Greenwood, as Ricketts avers, it would have been about July 20th. That date could have placed the Rhoads family at Emigrant Gap as early as two weeks ahead of October 1st unless they dawdled.

Throwing the story into even greater confusion is the account of Heinrich Lienhard. He was in a wagon of young German-Swiss men who had attached themselves first to the Harlan-Young and eventually the Jacob D. Hoppe companies of 1846. The journey to Fort Bridger is not chronicled but from Bridger on, he presents a most vivid and detailed account of portions of the Hastings cut-off.

Lienhard, taking his account from a diary, records:

Beyond Fort (Bridger) there are two roads, the old one past the so-called Soda Springs and Fort Hall, and a new one called Captain Hastings' Cut-off which is said to be much shorter and passes by the Great Salt Lake. Many companies ahead of us already had chosen Hastings' Cut-off as their route, and we, too, thought it preferable.

On July 26 we finally broke camp again and entered upon the new road past the Fort, leaving the Fort Hall road to our right . . . on the 27th . . . we reached the Bear River . . . . On the 1st of August . . . the ravine opened suddenly before us upon a valley with a beautiful little river . . . known as the Weber River . . . . We followed down the windings . . . past high hill promontories which often looked like castle ruins.

On the 3rd day of August we encountered Captain Hastings . . . . He was of the opinion that we, like all the companies who had gone in advance of us, were taking the wrong road. He had advised the first companies that on arriving at the Weber River they should turn to the left which would bring them by a shorter route to the Salt Lake. (6)

The Hoppes turned around but after searching for a satisfactory route for a day or so, turned down river following the other companies. Lienhard's story continues:

On August 5 we again set out . . . to where the so-called bad places of the Weber River commence . . . it was a deep cleft through which the water foamed and roared over rocks.

On August 6 we ventured upon this furious passage, up to this point decidedly the wildest we had encountered, if not the most dangerous.

On the 7th we reached the flat shore of the magnificent Salt Lake. On the 8th we left the Wasatch Mountains to our left or to our rear and set out on a southwesterly direction toward another reddish-brown mountain (the Oquirrhs). (7)

From the 10th through the 13th, the company remained at some springs, resting their cattle and themselves for the drive across the Salt Flats. Lienhard continued:

On the 14th of August . . . we arrived at the last fresh water springs . . . we overtook the last immigrant company in advance of us, including the Harlans and Weimer (Peter L. Wimmer), with whom we had begun the journey from Indian Creek.

The 17th . . . Before us lay the broad salt plain or valley.

August 18 . . . We had now reached a totally barren plain where not the slightest sign of life was to be seen . . . In this valley there was a great quantity of the finest salt . . .

August 19 . . . we arrived at the grass-covered ground (Pilot Springs) . . . In spite of long-sustained fatigue everyone was animated and happy; the young girls gathered together and sang, while the young Americans danced to the squeaky sounds which a man named Roadies (Rhoads?) coaxed from his old fiddle. (8)

The editor of the Lienhard account credits Thomas Rhoads with being the fiddler, identifying him as one of "numerous Mormons" who visited Salt Lake Valley in advance of Brigham Young. (9) He does not identify who constituted the "numerous Mormons." The only other Latter-day Saints were possibly Peter Wimmer and members of his family, who may have been Mormons, as well as Mrs. Lavinia Murphy and her family who were Mormons and members of the ill-fated Donner-Reed party which was weeks behind.

They reached the Humboldt (Marys) River and the Fort Hall to Emigrant Gap road on September 8th. Lienhard observed:

How much we had profited by this cutoff we soon enough learned through a small company which had taken the Fort Hall Road. They had left Fort Bridger 12 or 13 days after we did, and were now just as far advanced as we. (10)

They continued wetward along the Humboldt to the Truckee and thence upstream to the mountains, crossing the river 27 times. On the 4th or 5th day of October, they crossed the summit or Emigrant Gap and began the descent to Bear Valley and Johnson's Ranch. Even though Lienhard must have been there about the same time as members of the Rhoads family, he makes no mention of any of them.

Referring back to the McBride account, it pointed out that John or Elam Brown was the leader of a group with which the McBrides traveled for much of the journey. Brown broke away from the McBride party, going on to California, while the McBrides went to Oregon. A biographical sketch of Daniel says that he passed through Emigrant Gap the latter part of September in association with "Captain Imes (Elam?) train." This might have been Captain Elam Brown.

Where does all of this leave us? What is the true story of Thomas Rhoads westward journey? It is conceivable that either at Fort Laramie or at Greenwood's Cut-off, the Rhoads party split up, Thomas and others going to California via Fort Bridger and the portion of the Hastings Cut-off traveled by the Harlan-Young party.

The other portion of the original Rhoads company could have proceeded via Greenwood's Cut-off, joining the McBrides where that cut-off joined the Fort Bridger-Fort Hall Road and then staying with Elam Brown after the McBrides broke off for Oregon southwest of Fort Hall.

The two Rhoads groups could have rejoined along the Humboldt or Truckee rivers, entering California together. Or they could have rejoined by the time they reached Johnson's Ranch. Admittedly this is speculative but it does harmonize the seemingly disparate accounts. If true, Thomas Rhoads was the first known Mormon to pass through the Valley of the Great Salt Lake--on approximately August 5, 1846.



Chapter 4  
Footnotes

1. Another account, the result of an interview years later, gives the date of October 4, 1846. Quinn, op cit., pp. 445-446.
2. Amanda Esrey Rhoads Letter of the Summer 1847. Copy secured from Norma Ricketts.
3. Lucinda Rhoades Dodge, op cit.
4. John R. McBride, Papers, Oregon Historical Society, as found in Morgan, op cit. A Thomas McBride was one of the Mormons killed at Haun's Mill in Missouri in 1838. It is not known whether the two are related. John McBride was some years later a member of the anti-Mormon community in Salt Lake City.
5. Heinrich Lienhard, FROM ST. LOUIS TO SUTTER'S FORT, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. This account placed the Hoppe party six days behind the Harlan-Young company. Between the two were several parties, with from one to a dozen wagons. The Hoppe party was the last known group before the Donner-Reed party, to take the Hastings Cut-off, sans the Big Mountain.
6. Ibid. This latter was the course unfortunately followed by the Donner-Reed party. While perhaps shorter in distance, and safer than down the Weber River, no wagon road had been cut. Had the earlier trains followed Hastings' instruction, with their greater numbers, they would have hacked their way faster across the mountains and into the Salt Lake Valley, saving the Donner-Reed party from the necessity of doing so, at a much slower pace and with devastating results.
7. Ibid. (words in brackets, mine)
8. Ibid. (words in brackets, mine)
9. Roderic Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY 1951, p. 154.
10. Lienhard, op cit.

## Chapter 5 The California Gold Rush

The Rhoads family passed through Emigrant Gap into the Land of Opportunity between October 1 and 5. Any time between those two dates is possible, irrespective of whether or not the company had split up in Wyoming country or whether the Salt Lake or the Soda Springs route was taken.

Descending the Pacific slope, the family stopped for a month or so at Johnson's ranch on Bear River in Sacramento Valley. While there they engaged in making stakes from oak timber, probably for the wine grape industry. They were paid in beef.

They soon became aware of the Bear Flag rebellion against Mexican control which was in full sway. The leader of the revolt was a reputed Mormon, William Ide, (1) with headquarters at Sonoma, the principal city of Sacramento Valley. The Fanning boys, Joseph House and Thomas Rhoads (probably 21 year old Thomas Jr.) enlisted for three months. According to Amanda, "They were determined to gain the country or die in pursuit of it and without help they could never have gained it." (2)

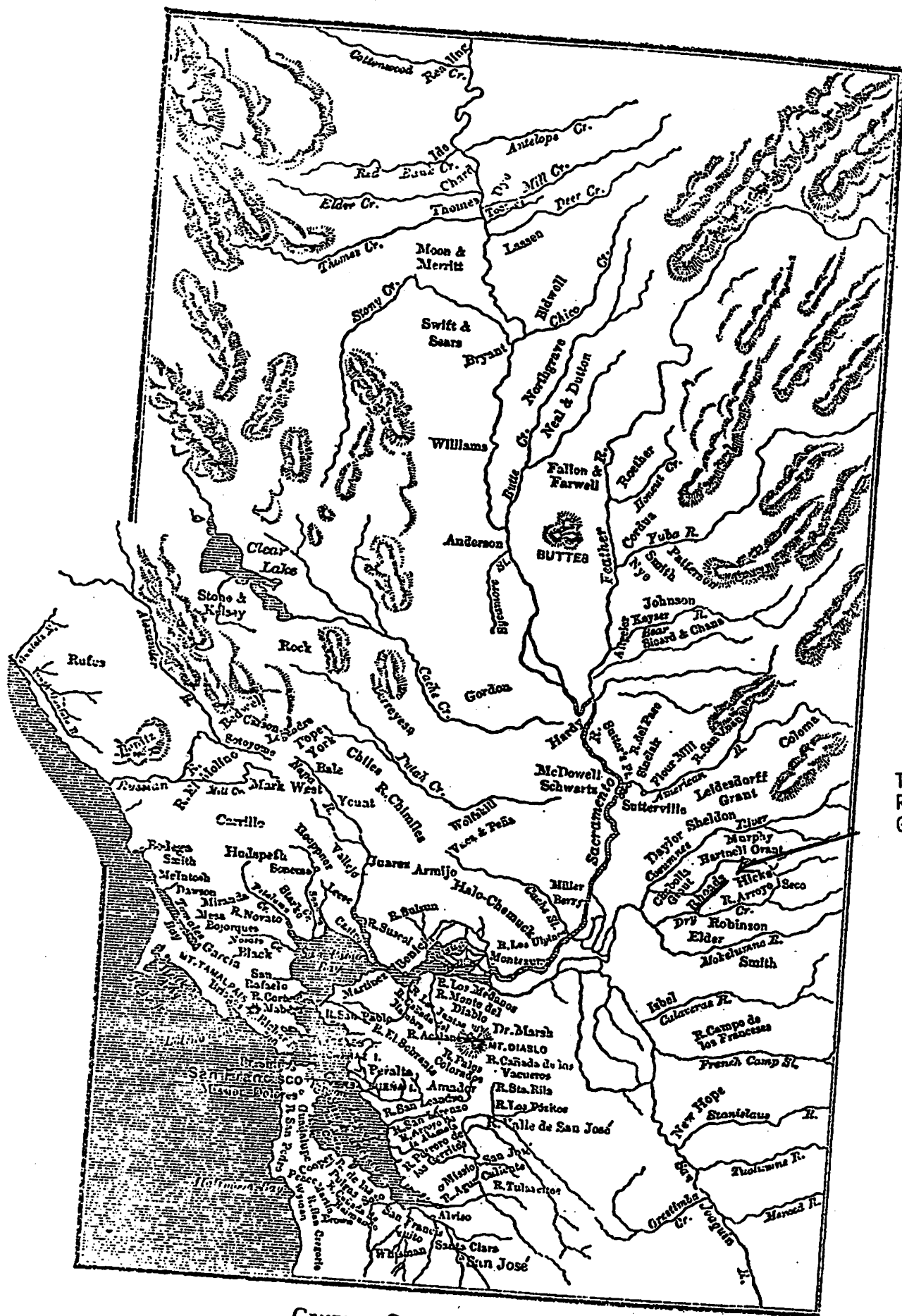
They must have remained in service after the full scale American entry into the dispute as all but House were still in military service in the summer of 1847.

In addition to the boys who went into military service, the Rhoads company soon began to split up, most of them acquiring land southeast of Sutter's Fort. Tina Patterson, the widow of Jonathan who had died before entering California, settled between the Cosumnes and Mokelumne rivers. Turner and Polly Elder secured land between Dry Creek and the Mokelumne.

Thomas' bevy of eligible daughters soon found marriage partners in a country short of Anglo-Saxon females. Elizabeth, 21 years of age, married Sebastian Keyser, Sally (Sarah?) at sixteen, married William Daylor, and Caty (Catherine), fifteen, married Jared Sheldon. Father Thomas was presented land between the South Fork of the Cosumnes and Dry Creek by his new sons-in-law Daylor and Sheldon who were large landowners in the area.

Daylor, was an ex-sailor who had settled in California about 1835 and gone to work for Sutter in 1840. He had settled on the Cosumnes river with his future brother-in-law, Jared Sheldon, about 1844. A rough and tough character, he was noted for his fighting. He became a miner upon discovery of gold in 1848, fought the Indians on his land in 1849 and died of cholera in 1850. Sally, his widow and heir, soon married his partner,

Illus. 7 Map of Central California in 1848 showing Rhoads holdings



Thomas  
Rhoads  
Grant

CENTRAL CALIFORNIA IN 1848.  
from Bancroft's History of California, San Francisco, 1888. Vol. VI.

William R. Grimshaw, by whom she had seven children. (3)

Sheldon was a native of Vermont, having come most recently from New Mexico or Sonora, Mexico by 1840. In 1844, he was granted the Omochumne rancho on the Cosumnes River, becoming a partner of Daylor. Involved in the military during the war with Mexico, he became a miner in 1848 and was killed in 1851 by miners as he attempted to protect his irrigation system from their depredations. He left his widow with three children and his extensive land holdings.

Keyser was an Austrian by birth. A trapper, he came overland with Sutter in 1838. In 1844, he received a Mexican grant, the Llano Seco ranch, well to the north of Sutter's Fort. In 1848 he settled on Bear River becoming half owner of the Johnson Rancho, where the Rhoads family had recouped upon entrance into California. Probably a Bear Flag soldier, he lost part of a hand in battle. Shortly after his marriage to Elizabeth, she left him for awhile but soon returned. Following his participation in the Donner rescue, he sold his interest in the ranch and moved south to Daylor's, running a ferry on the Cosumnes. He was drowned in the flood of 1850, leaving his widow with a child and \$15,000 in gold dust.

In the winter of 1846-47 the Rhoads family became involved in the efforts to rescue the Donner-Reed party, trapped in the snows on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas. (4)

That party had not followed the other companies down the Weber River in present-day Utah. They had followed Hasting's instruction which resulted in having to cut their way across the Wasatch Mountains, dropping into Salt Lake Valley through what became known as Emigration Canyon. In general, it was the route followed by the Mormon vanguard the next year. This approach cost them precious time, energy, equipment, animals and supplies.

They crossed the Salt Flats to the west of the Salt Lake in a weakened condition, losing much of their livestock. For some reason, after reaching the waste land of present-day Nevada, instead of following the trail of others preceeding them to the Humboldt, they travelled south for awhile before proceeding northwest to the California Trail. This cost them more time and supplies.

They reached the Truckee River Valley on October 20, stopping for a week to rest up. They waited too long, beginning the arduous climb up the Truckee in a light rain. As they climbed, the rain turned into snow and by the time they reached what would become Donner Lake, the snow was too deep and they were too exhausted to move on.

They expected the snow to soon melt but it only got deeper and deeper. Running low on food, a group of eighteen finally left the main party, headed west for civilization. However the

snows had obliterated the trail and they wandered about in the mountains for several weeks. Only seven of them reached the settlements to spread the alarm.

It took two weeks for volunteers to be secured, at five dollars a day, to attempt a rescue. John and Daniel Rhoads were among those who finally volunteered. Daniel later described the rescue efforts:

We started a small company of 7 men, myself, John Rhoads, Mr. Glover, Joseph Forster (of the Rhoads Company) and some sailors. We took 50 pounds of provision and a heavy blanket to each man and started. We walked on snow shoes over the snow. It was 5 to 25 feet deep. And the end of our day's travels we cashed provisons so as to liten our loads. We was 7 days going to their tends and cabins. They had been living of raw hides for 3 weeks. They was dieing every day. In some of the tends there was 3 and 4 on a pile of dead persons.

We gave them their allowances and started with 23 persons, all that was able to walk, we had but verry litle provisions to leave the ballance. On our way back, a bear took one of ourr cashes. That left us 3 days without anything to eat but a \_\_\_\_\_? her bag and our snow shoes which was raw hide strongs.

We met another party bringing out provisions. They divide with us \_\_\_\_\_? or we never would have got in. We managed so as to get in with 19 persons, 3 died on the way.

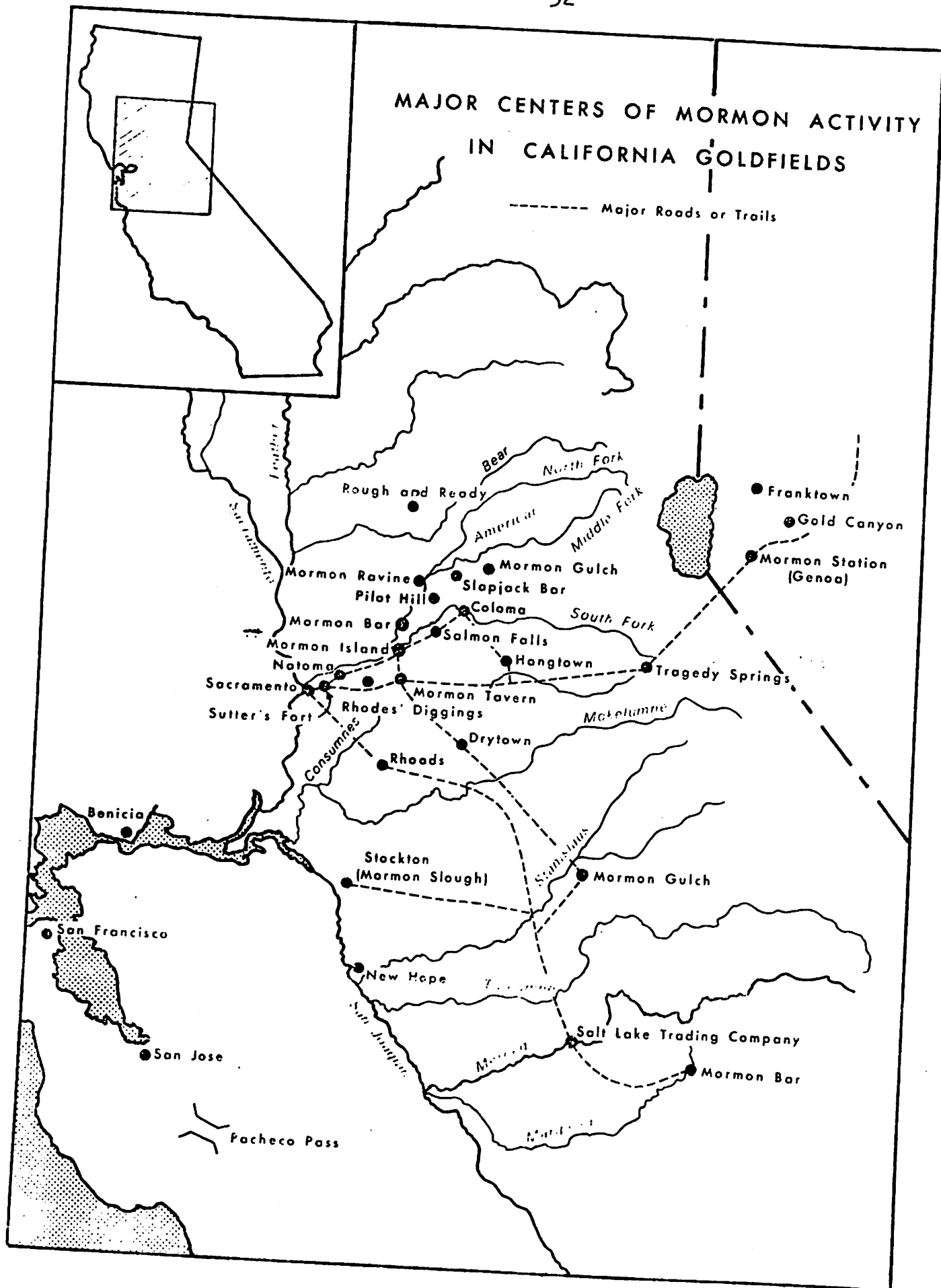
The second company started with 14 and got in with 3. The most of these people lived on dead bodys from 4 to 6 weeks. There was but 2 hole familys out and a number of orphant children. We saved 30 out of 80 persons. . .It was the awfulest and most horrible sight that was ever seen--to go to their cabbins and see the human frames that was their. (5)

Lucinda's account (6) of the Donner tragedy involved her father and other brothers in addition to John and Daniel. However, all other known accounts verify the participation of only John and Daniel, as well as Joseph Forster, one of Mother Elizabeth's relatives.

John was involved in two of the five relief efforts. According to Lucinda, he suffered physical injury through exhaustion and starvation, shortening his life. Though a physically powerful man at the beginning of the rescue, he died in 1866 at 48 years of age.

Thomas and John Rhoads were involved in the salvage operation in the spring. In partnership with P.A. House and P.C. Stice,

# MAJOR CENTERS OF MORMON ACTIVITY IN CALIFORNIA GOLDFIELDS



they entered into an agreement with John Sinclair, acting in behalf of the Donner-Reed survivors, to retrieve the supplies and equipment left behind for which they were to receive half.(7)

While the Rhoads clan became fairly well concentrated in the vicinity of Dry Creek, there is no known record of any branch of the Church being established by them, nor of any religious activities by them in California. (8)

The first mention of Thomas Rhoads in the JOURNAL HISTORY of the Church is in an excerpt from the diary of Nathaniel V. Jones, a member of the Mormon Battalion. He was one of several Battalion Boys accompanying General Kearny east in 1847. They were taking John C. Fremont to Fort Leavenworth for courtmartial on charges of unauthorized activities in the War with Mexico.

As Kearny's escort approached Sutter's Fort, they came across a Rhoads. Jones' diary entry reads: "Saturday, June 12. . .This evening a brother came to see us by the name of Rhoades; he came here 1st (last?) October from Missouri. The brethren are settled in different places through this country." (9)

During this early period, Rhoads was also in contact with the Brooklyn Saints located at New Hope, a Mormon satellite community established on the Stanislaus River some distance to the south. (10)

Rhoades-Boren aver that shortly after arriving in California, Thomas sent a letter to Brigham Young, "telling the Mormon leader of their progress and describing the possibilities of California as a haven for the Mormons." (11) Unfortunately for their story, there is no support for this statement. Young's correspondence does not contain such a letter. Of course, the letter could have been sent to the Church leader, never arriving, or it could have been lost after its receipt.

If there was such a letter and it was sent upon his arrival in October, a question arises as to how it would have gone east that late in the season. There is no record of any outgoing party subsequent to Thomas' arrival the first part of October.

If such a letter was sent overland, it probably did not go out until the following spring. If it went then, it might well have gone with Sam Brannan, leader of the Brooklyn Saints, who with two companions set out in the spring of 1847 to urge Brigham Young to bring the Saints on to California. Or it might have gone east in the summer of 1847 with General Kearny. But here again history is silent.

Toward the end of 1847, the aging and ailing Mother Elizabeth became very ill, lapsing into a coma while Thomas and the older members of the family were away. The youthful Caleb rode into



Illus. 8 Map showing Mormon involvement in California Gold Fields

Sutter's Fort seeking aid. Sutter returned with his buggy and transporting Elizabeth to the fort. She was placed on Sutter's boat for the trip to Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and medical attention. She died en route near Benicia and was buried there in an unmarked grave. The grieving Thomas and bewildered Caleb were later unable to locate it.

According to Rhoades-Boren, in early 1847 James and Jemima Powell, future parents-in-law to Caleb, were on Dry Creek with the Rhoads family, Jemima assisting Elizabeth with household chores. One day Jemima, engaged in washing clothes in the nearby stream, reportedly found gold.

In May, James and Thomas went privately to Sutter to discuss their find. Sutter agreed with them that the find would be kept a secret, that they should mine the gold secretly at night, taking it to San Francisco to dispose of. They were to share it with Sutter as it was mined on his land.

This story has little support. In the first place, Rhoads had secured his land from Daylor and Sheldon, not Sutter. It is possible that Sutter had some sort of mineral rights or that Jemima was on other than Rhoads' land. However, either possibility is unlikely.

In the second place, the genealogical records of the James Powell family show them to have had a child in 1847 and either 1849 or 1850 in Pottawattami County in Iowa. (12) If the Powell record is correct, they could scarcely have been in California in the spring of 1847. While Rhoades-Boren claim Powell family tradition for the story, there is no known corroboration of them ever having been there.

Notwithstanding the challenges to the Rhoades-Boren tale, Ellen Rosa, a California descendent of Thomas and Elizabeth, says that:

Thomas Rhoads and his three sons, George, William, and Henry mined in Dry Creek, which flowed passed their home. (The women found it shining in the creek when they were washing clothes.) Also they mined at Rhoads Diggings, which is on the outskirts of the present town of Folsum. (13)

Whether this story comes from the traditions of the California branch of the family or resulted from Rosa having read the Rhoades-Boren story is uncertain. If the former, it would give some support to the latter, though not as to date nor parties involved.

Regardless of the truth of a particular story, Rhoads must have become involved early in the gold rush which began in the late winter and early spring of 1848. The country where Rhoads was living and working from the winter of 1846-47, was abundantly

blessed with gold, as was shown by the productiveness of panning through the area in 1848 and 1849. (14). Perhaps the stories of Rhoades-Boren and Ellen Rosa are basically correct. He might well have been mining gold before its recorded discovery on January 24, 1848.

One of the reasons this story is intriguing, even if not true, is the interrelationship that existed among the Powells, the Wimmers, and the Rhoads families. All were residents of northwestern Missouri in 1838. Many members of the Wimmer family were members of the Mormon Church. One of these, Jemima, was married to Thomas' youngest son by Elizabeth, Caleb, who came to the Valley with his father and his sister, Lucinda. Peter L. Wimmer a brother to Jemima, might have been a Mormon. He with his wife and a number of Mormon Battalion veterans were credited with being the co-discoverers of gold at Sutter's mill at nearby Coloma in January of 1848.

Other than this sketchy story, little is known of Rhoads' gold mining activity. He does not figure in the stories of gold by the hundreds of Mormons involved in that activity during the 1848-48 period. He did have a claim near what became the southern outskirts of Folsom, which settled at the first fork of the American River. He may also have had the Rhodes claim just south of Hangtown (Placerville.) He was successful enough to bring a respectable fortune with him to the City of the Great Salt Lake in the summer of 1849.

## Chapter 5

### Footnotes

1. William Brown Ide, WHO CONQUERED CALIFORNIA? THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA BY THE BEAR FLAG PARTY. The Rio Grande Press, Glorieta, New Mexico, 1967.
2. Amanda Esrey Rhoads Letter of the Summer of 1847. Copy secured from Norma Ricketts.
3. The stories of Daylor, Sheldon and Keyser are largely taken from Bancroft's PIONEER REGISTERS, Reginal Publishing Co., 1964
4. See any standard account of the Donner-Reed party.
5. Amanda Esrey Rhoads Letter, op cit
6. Lucinda Rhoades Dodge, op cit
7. Morgan, op cit, p. 457. While there were members of the Rhoads party named House, none were known to have the initials P.A.
8. Eugene Edward Campbell, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in California, 1846-1946." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1952
9. Journal History, June 12, 1847.
10. Clint McCready, "New Hope," Masters thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976, p. 84.
11. Rhoades-Boren, op cit p.20. Much of the detail of the remainder of this chapter, other than noted and corrected by other data, comes from Rhoades-Boren.
12. Genealogical Records, Church Archives
13. Ellen Cothrin Rosa, Letter, Author's files.
14. J. Kenneth Davies, MORMON GOLD: The Story of California's Mormon Argonauts, Olympus Publ. Co. 1984. This volume treats the story of gold in California and more especially the involvement of hundreds of Mormons in the 1846-1857 period.

## Chapter 6 The Rhoads' Gold Train

According to the Rhoades-Boren story, in the spring of 1849 Thomas received a dispatch from Brigham Young instructing him to gather up the Saints in Sacramento Valley and bring them to Zion--Deseret. This responsibility supposedly fell to Rhoads because Brannan had fallen out of favor with the Church leadership.

While Brannan had been released as the leader of the Brooklyn Saints, he was still recognized as a leader. (1) He had not yet been excommunicated, not being severed from the Church until 1851. Be that as it may, Brannan, upon hearing of the company being formed by Rhoads, supposedly offered his services as a guide, wishing to visit Salt Lake City in an attempt to recoup his former status with the Mormon hierarchy. (2) This story is without adequate support.

In April of 1849, Apostle Amasa M. Lyman and Porter Rockwell were sent to California by Brigham Young to secure all the gold possible as soon as they could. It was needed to save the Mormon money system which consisted of paper money supposedly backed by 100 % gold. However, the issuance of currency had exceeded the gold retained in Brigham Young's gold account and the system was in trouble. An infusion of precious metal could save it and California gold was both handy and plentiful. (3)

On July 6, Lyman wrote Young from Sacramento that he and his companions had arrived at Sutter's Fort on May 25, just 45 days from Salt Lake by the northern route. The Saints in San Francisco still manifested a love for the truth and the work of the Lord, he said, though many of the Battalion brethren had become profligate in spending their means and had contracted "confirmed habits of dissipation." (4)

The Apostle announced that he had collected \$4102 in tithing and donations for the Church, much of it from Mormon goldminers. He anticipated sending it by Brother Thomas Grover. (5) Grover had gone to California by way of the Southern route the previous year to collect either the goods or the money owed him by Brannan. He had sent some goods on the Brooklyn, anticipating settlement on the Coast. As Rhoads was one of the few Mormons in Northern California to have travelled the northern route, and had possibly been in Salt Lake Valley, he was undoubtedly called by Lyman to lead the Mormon Gold Train.

Rhoades-Boren notwithstanding, Sam Brannan was not the

leader. (6) While one report identified him as such, there is no record of him reaching Salt Lake Valley. He was too busy by that time making a personal fortune from the Argonauts streaming into the Gold Fields to go to Salt Lake. And by that time he had little need or use for the Church.

Rhoads responded to the call to come to Zion, regardless of its source--whether a letter from Brigham Young or a response to a request by Apostle Lyman. He took with him his two youngest children, Caleb, 13 years old, and Lucinda, at 13 years. He may also have taken his two grandchildren (7) who had come west with him. The rest of his children, aged 14 and up, married and unmarried, evidently remained in the Land of Gold.

Whereas his trip west in 1846 was little noted, he appears to have gone out of his way to let people know about his eastward movement. On August 4, a westward bound emigrant, James Pritchard, records that he met the eastward-bound Rhoads leading a group of Utah-bound Saints, some of whom were from the Brooklyn. Rhoads fed them with information about the mines in California. (8)

According to Read and Gaines, editing the journal of Bruff, the following additional westward moving companies met the Rhoads company travelling eastward along the Humboldt River toward Fort Hall: the Fosters on August 25, the Caldwells on August 27, the Goulds on September 3, and the Bruffs on September 8th. (9)

The Bruff account itself gives some interesting detail, apparently including misinformation about Brannan on which Rhoades-Boren based their story:

August (September) 4

Found camped near us, a Mormon train of 8 wagons, several women and children, plenty of stock, among them some very fine California horses, and Mexican equipments. Brannan (9) commanded them; they were from California, bound to the Salt Lake Settlement. . . After tea I walked over to the Mormon Camp, and obtained much information about California, from an aged man, who seemed to be an honest fellow. He (recalled) several names of acquaintances of mine in the mines, with whom he was acquainted. One of them (Mormons) had a fine large specimen of crude gold, which he exhibited to one of my men. (10)

Bruff identified the aged man as "Mr. Ths. Rhoads," who "very kindly gave me much information that I had long been seeking." This information dealt with the Lassen, Truckee and Carson River routes over the Sierra Nevadas into California. Bruff continued: "The foregoing is information by Mr. Thos. Rhoads of Brannan's Mormon party of 10 wagons Sept. 15th and 16th 1849. Mr. R. had not travell'd Lassin's Road but was intimate with many who had." (11)

Some of the details of this trip were given by William Glover, a member of the Rhoads company. He was one of the Brooklyn Saints and a former, by then disillusioned counselor to Brannan, who had left Yerba Buena (San Francisco) with his family in the late spring of 1848 to mine gold at Mormon Island. He was going to Utah with his own barrel of gold. He said:

In the Spring of "49" myself and a few others gathered up our effects and started for Salt Lake. While at Sacramento buying our outfits we met Amasa Lyman. He wanted me to go to San Bernadino to settle and spend my money;; I told him "no" I had started for Salt Lake and I was going. He told me then to go and I would get the nots knocked off me. (12)

When we started across the mountains, the first night after we camped a company of men with pack animals, 13 in number, armed to the teeth with some picks and spades passed us, professing to be prospectors hunting for gold. They would pass and repass every day.

We were meeting companies of emigrants every day. And sometimes they camped with us to hear about the gold diggings. The emigrants began to warn us to be on our guard and watch those men with pack animals and said they intended mischief. One company told us they said we had the cream of the mines and wanted them to join with them to destroy us.

We took every precaution we could, not to give them any advantage of us. They turned back when they got to Carson Valley, for the emigrants were coming along so fast we could meet two or three companies aday. They had murder in their hearts, but the Lord put a hook in their jaws that they had no power to molest us. We went our way rejoicing and praising god that had spared our lives and the little means we had for a better purpose. (13)

Glover's narrative indicates one of the dangers (real or imagined in this case) of the trail--the possibility of being robbed. It also reveals the early part of the route use, the Mormon Emigrant Trail over Carson Pass and down the Carson river. They were the first known wagon train to use that route since it was pioneered the previous year by returning Battalion veterans. In addition, the account infers that some miners may have been deserting the gold fields of California as early as 1849, looking for richer diggings in other areas east of the mountains:

Glover continued:

When we got between the Humbolt and Goose Creek, (14) Levi Riter and Harry Green got in a hurry to reach home. They started out alone and the first night they camped the Indians stole their horses and fired at them. They ran and

saved their lives, but they got separated in the darkness. We turned back ten miles to camp, and laid over the next day.

Levi Riter went the other way and met a company of 18 young men. He travelled back with them to meet us. When they got where they had camped they saw some of their animals, and in trying to recover them they had quite a fight with the Indians. Two men were killed and four wounded--one died afterwards from his wounds, the balance turned back with us to Salt Lake and wintered. The Indians burned their light wagons and destroyed most of their provisions.

We buried the two dead men when we came to where they were and gathered up what provisions were left, but saw no Indians. We arrived in Salt Lake the last of September praising God that he had preserved us through all the varied and trying scenes of a long, tedious and perilous journey, where, thank God, I have never had cause to repent my choice from identifying myself with the Latter-day Saints. (15)

The arrival of Captain Rhoads' Gold Train appears to have been unannounced. Of course, there was no newspaper at the time, the Deseret News, Utah's first, being established the next year. The Journal History did at least announce the arrival of a wagon train of 14 men from California on September 28, 1849, some of them from the Brooklyn. (16)

Rhoads is revealed as the train's captain by a letter from the First Presidency to Apostle Lyman dated September 30, 1849. Because it reflects a growing attitude on the part of Church leaders toward California, gold miners, tithing, and Sam Brannan, and is rarely available, it will be extensively quoted:

We wish you and Brother Rich (17) to take into consideration the propriety or impropriety of continuing to hold an influence in Western California, by our people remaining in the region. Our feelings are in favor of that policy, unless all the offscouring of hell has been let loose upon that devoted land, in which case we would advise you to gather up all that is worth saving, and come hither with all speed.

Yet if good can be accomplished by continuing to have a Presidency located there, you will continue to gather the people in good and healthy locations in communities together, that they may be enabled to act in concert and receive instructions from those that may be sent among them, and from each other. The policy of this course will be appreciated by all good saints, when they reflect, that it is not only against the power of wicked men, and Devils they have to contend, but a spirit of estrangement and alienation from correct principles and their brethren, pervading their own bosoms.



We wish to have a chain of settlements as soon as practicable extending from this place to the coast, as well as all other good locations within the limits of our state. To this end you will direct your attentions. . .

When you return, gather up all who wish to come to this place and can procure an outfit, and travel together, keeping a good lookout, ever be on the watch; for the emigration having killed some of the Indians, they are more hostile than ever.

Our brethren Harvey (Harry?) Green, Thomas Grover, Captain Rhoads, Glover, Ladd and others have arrived in safety. . . (18)

We acknowledge the receipt of funds sent per Capt. Rhoads, and say unto you go and prosper, and may the Lord be with you. We wish you to say unto Bro. Samuel Brannan that we wish him to immediately gather up all the means he can. . . and come to this place, for we wish him to go East, and make his arrangements to carry out business at this point instead of that. . .

We wish you to collect all the tithing you can and forward every safe opportunity. In addition to one tenth of the proceeds of a personal labor, whether it is farming, trading, or mining, we consider that a man's days are also increased unto him and if we acknowledge the Lord in everything we will not fail to remember him in the increase of our days. Therefore we think it right to pay tithing on our days. Every tenth day should be required, as well as a tenth of all the proceeds of a man's business. This arrangement is now being carried into effect here. (19)

This letter, as well as one to follow addressed to Lyman, Rich and Brannan in California, would indicate that Brannan had never arrived in Utah, if he ever left California. It also reveals that at that point in time he had not yet been completely written of by the Church leaders. (20)

The arrival of the Rhoads Mormon Gold Train, produced a beehive of activity at Church headquarters, which also served as governmental as well as banking offices. The primary use of the gold and some silver which was brought in was for coinage.

The Journal History (21) for the next few days reads:

September 29	Brigham Young, John Taylor, Charles C. Rich and other brethren received money from Amasa Lyman by Thomas Grover.
September 30	The Twelve met with the California brethren in the afternoon.
October 3	Willard Richards called at the mint where John Kay was at work with the gold and Thomas Bullock was receiving dust and paying out coin.

October 4            Considerable gold was brought into the mint where John Kay and Willard Richards were engaged in rolling bars.

The gold coin would be used to replace the highly depreciated gold backed currency being used as money since January. The importance of the operations is evidenced by the men involved. Young was the leader of the Church; Taylor, a senior Apostle, was to become President of the Quorum of the Twelve and later the President of the Church; Richards was second counselor to Young; Rich was one of the four Apostles ordained the previous February and would shortly leave for California to assist and replace Lyman; Bullock was the chief clerk to Brigham Young; Kay was the gold technician.

Rhoads was not only the captain of the gold train. He brought with him a large amount of gold dust of his own. Colonel Joseph M. Lock (Loucke) reported:

Father Rhodes brought several sacks of gold among which there was a 60 pound sack, the largest amount of gold that had been brought into the valley. Father Rhodes turned all the gold over to Brigham Young, who in turn had a home built for Rhodes and allowed him to withdraw from the tithing office all the food supplies he deemed necessary. He also received a herd of cattle. . . Father Rhodes contributed the entire amount to accelerate the progress of the Mormon people. The famous 60 pound sack of gold was the chief topic of people in the Valley at that time and for quite some time after. (22)

The amount of gold Rhoads personally delivered is not certain. At \$16 an ounce, the approximate going rate at the time, sixty pounds would be valued at \$15,360. Brigham Young reported the figure to be \$17,000. A year later he said:

I declare openly and boldly, there is no necessity for any man of this community to go to the gold mines. . . we have more property and wealth than we are capable of taking care of. . . Before I had been one year in this place, the wealthiest man who came from the mines, Father Rhodes, with \$17,000 could not buy the possessions I had made in one year. (23)

This was an overdrawn and unfair comparison, as Brigham Young had access to Church funds and manpower for his personal use. While it does not say that Rhoads simply gave or sold his gold to the prophet-statesman, the fact that Rhoads had tithed earlier that year (the next to the largest tithepayer in California and possibly the Church) (24), and the fact that he had left his prospering gold diggings at the height of the gold rush, would indicate that Rhoads was most responsive to the will of the Prophet. If Brigham asked him for his gold, he probably

gave it up, receiving a home, land, cattle and comestibles in return.

The fact that gold was scarce in Utah in 1849 and was needed both to redeem the paper currency issued as well as to reestablish a more acceptable money system, would indicate that Rhoads was most likely asked for and did turn much if not all of his gold over to the Church leader, to "help build the kingdom."

A recently located record (25) in the Mormon Church archives, is indicative of Rhoads' responsiveness. While he apparently did not make a gift of his money, he did deposit it to be used as the Church leaders saw fit. In the account book, only Rhoads, outside of Brigham Young, had sufficient activity in gold to warrant a separate account. While this account does not record a deposit of \$17,000, it does record \$10,826. It is possible that Rhoads kept some gold for his personal use.

The account reads:

# Thomas Rhodes

1850 (1849) (26)		Received	Paid
Oct. 9	Received from Thomas Rhodes	dust 10,826	
16	Paid Thomas Rhodes by (27)		
	Thomas Tomkins (28)		75.
	do John Taylor (29)		100.
	do Silver		200
	do Perpetual Poor Fund		20
18	do T. Tomkins		50
Nov. 20	do by T. Tomkins		50
Nov. 26	do		200
Dec. 19	do Order on Livingston Store (30)		100
1850			
Feb. 14	do by T. Tomkins		5
Apr. 1	do		200
Apr. 15	do by T. Tomkins		240
May 27	do do		30
..	do do thro Shepher Hutchings		2
June 1	do by John Stewart		350
June 28	do		50
Aug. 10	do by John Stewart		170
June 27	Paid for labor on Rhodes House		6.75
June 29	Furnishing Store etc		21.12
Aug. 10	200 adobes (extra)		27.50
	6 loads of clay and sand extra		6
	laying and attending the above		25
Aug. 23	Cash paid T. Rhodes		100
Sept. 16	do by J. Stewart		100
Oct. 1	do do		100
Oct. 9	do by J. or E. Reese (32)		103
Oct. 15	do by J. Stewart		100

Oct. 15	do	by Livingston and Kincaid (32)	19.88
	Amount of contract for building house		1101
Oct. 24	Cash paid T. Rhodes by Stewart		50
Oct. 30	Due bill paid	do	10
Nov. 5	Cash paid T. Rhodes by Stewart		40
Nov. 7	Alexander		37
Nov. 26	Paid Thomas Rhodes by T. J. Thurston's order		3 0
Dec. 24	Paid Thomas Rhodes	crd. forward	\$4,274.25

In Deseret, Rhoads was to become a prominent, public man, a man of affairs, at least for a decade. He gold seemed to bring with it the recognition and position which had long avoided him.

## Chapter 6 Footnotes

1. Amasa Lyman Papers, op cit.
2. Rhoades-Boren, op cit, p. 45.
3. Davies, op cit, Chapter 6.
4. Brigham Young Correspondence, op cit.
5. Grover was a member of the Salt Lake High Council. He was the father-in-law of Charles C. Rich, who was appointed an Apostle in the spring of 1849. At the time of Lyman's letter he had been called, but not yet sent, to California to assist and then replace Lyman.
6. The Rhoades-Boren supposition was based on spurious evidence discussed later.
7. Ricketts, op cit, p. 6.
8. Helen S. Griffen, ed., THE DIARIES OF PETER DECKER, The Talisman Press, 1966, p. 283.
9. Georgia W. Read and Ruth Gaines, GOLD RUSH, Columbia University Press, 1944, p. 554.
10. Ibid, p. 103,104. The text read August 4 but from the context, it must have been September 4th.
11. Ibid. This account, which seems to place Brannan with the Rhoads company is at variance with other sources. Reva Scott, SAMUEL BRANNAN AND THE GOLDEN FLEECE, Macmillan Co., 1944, pp. 260-266 places Brannan in California in August through September when the Rhoads company was well on its way.
12. This point appears anachronous as San Bernardino was not decided upon or settled until 1851. The account was written in 1884 and therefore two experiences were probably merged. It was also written after Lyman had been excommunicated and Glover, a devout Saint, was probably somewhat antagonistic toward the former Apostle.
13. William Glover, "The Mormons in California," Ms., 1884. Brigham Young University. The original, evidently prepared by a scribe, was reparagraphed by this author.
14. This note indicates the use of the Salt Lake Cutoff, which separated from the California to Fort Hall trail near the joining of the present-day Idaho, Nevada and Utah borders. The Cutoff

proceeded southeast to Salt Lake.

15. Glover, op cit.

16. Journal History, op cit, September 28, 1849.

17. While this sounds like Rich was already in California, he was still in Salt Lake. He would not leave for the coast via the Southern Route until October.

18. This listing should have included Levi Riter. There is continued confusion over the first name of Green. Both a Harry and a Harvey Green appear in various accounts. They could have either been different men, or the same one but with confusion over the first name.

19. Ibid.

20. Lyman Papers, op cit.

21. Journal History, op cit, September 29-October 4, 1849.

22. Kate B. Carter, OUR PIONEER HERITAGE. Vol 9, pp. 478-9.

23. Roberts, op cit, Vol. III, pp. 347-8.

24. Amasa Lyman Papers, op cit.

25. Brigham Young Gold Accounts, Church Archives.

26. While the original reads 1850, it should read 1849.

27. The use of "by" apparently means "by way of" or "to."

28. One of the Brooklyn Saints.

29. This possibly was to pay for a building lot on the southwest corner of 1st South and West Temple, where the Salt Palace presently stands (1985.) Taylor lived just across the street. It could be speculated that the association of Rhoads and Taylor played a role in the latter's long term interest in mining.

30. A Gentile (non-Mormon) store.

31. Salt Lake merchant brothers; one a Mormon, the other not.

32. Gentile merchants.

## Chapter 7

### A Man of Affairs

While Thomas Rhoads may have been obscure before moving to Deseret in 1849, the same cannot be said for the following decade. He became a prominent man of affairs in the City of the Great Salt Lake.

Upon his arrival in Deseret, Rhoads stopped for a while in Farmington, a few miles north of the Old Fort, (1) in the same area eventually settled by his Gold Train traveling companions, William Glover and Thomas Grover. As Rhoads and Glover both made their gold available to the Church, they may well have been paid, at least in part, by land in that area. (2)

If Thomas was given land there, he did not intend to stay long. On October 16, just nineteen days after his arrival, Apostle Taylor was given \$100 (the second withdrawal) from the Gold Account of Rhoads, possibly for a building lot. It is also possible that this was simply a gift to the Apostle. This payment or gift was soon followed by continuing payments or drafts against his account for, among other things, the construction of a home and possibly a store. (3)

His new home was just one block south of Temple Square. It was probably completed the next year and must have been one of the more pretentious home for the day, costing several thousand dollars.

From the accompanying plat, it may be seen that Rhoads, whose name was recorded as "Rhodes" was living in one of the most notable sections of the growing city. His home was conveniently located, being one block from Main Street and from Temple Square with many Church leaders having lots in the blocks immediately surrounding his. These included: Brigham Young, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich and George A. Smith. This list included two of the three members of the First Presidency of the Church and eight of the twelve members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. (4)

Also located in the same immediate area were: W.W. Phelps, early Church leader and one of the men who signed Rhoad's Letter of Recommendation in 1837; Thomas Bullock, Brigham Young's chief clerk; H. S. Beatie, prominent Salt Lake businessman; John Van Cott, Salt Lake Marshal and later a President of the First Quorum of Seventies; John Smith, sometime president of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion, Presiding Patriarch, and uncle of Joseph Smith; Dan Jones, previous owner of the Mississippi River steamship, The Maid of Iowa, and close associate of the Prophet Joseph; Abram

Illus. 9    Plat of north part of Salt Lake City showing location  
of locations of Thomas Rhoads (Rhodes) home.



(Abraham) O. Smoot, sometime mayor of Salt Lake and Provo.

It may be seen from the Rhoads account, presented in the last chapter, that over the course of the next several months, in addition to his payment to Apostle Taylor, his withdrawal of \$200 in silver, and his contribution of \$25 to the Perpetual Poor (Emigration) Fund, he made the following withdrawals to Thomas Tomkins, (5) of the Brooklyn company, for unspecified purposes:

Oct. 16, 1849	\$75
Oct. 18	50
Oct. 20	600
Feb. 14, 1850	5
April 15	240
May 27	30
Total	<u>1000</u>

Following the above payments, John Stewart (6) became the principal payee from the account, receiving the following payments:

June 1, 1850	\$350
Aug. 10	170
Sept. 6	100
Oct. 1	100
Oct. 9	100
Oct. 24	50
Nov. 5	40
Total	<u>\$910</u>

The purpose of the payments to Tomkins and Stewart is not known but might well have been for the construction of Thomas home and/or store.

Rhoads also made the following personal withdrawals:

Nov. 26, 1849	\$200
April 1, 1850	200
June 28	50
Aug. 23	100
Dec. 2	50
Total	<u>\$600</u>

And the following miscellaneous payments were made from the account:

Dec. 19, 1849	Livingston Store	\$100
May 27, 1850	T. Tomkins thru	
	Shepherd Hutchings	2
June 27	Labor on Rhoads' house	6.75

June 29	Furnishing store	21.12
Aug. 10	Adobes, clay and sand	6
Oct. 9	J. or E. Reese	103
Oct. 15	Livingston & Kinhead	19.55
Oct. 15	Contract for building house	1101.
Nov. 7	Alexander_____?	37
Nov. 26	T.J. Thurston	30

In view of the entry for June 29, which was for the furnishing of a store, and the fact Rhoads, as shown later, maintained at least one store, some of the expenditures might have been for the construction of a house of commerce as well as a home.

It should be noted that while Thomas usually signed his last name as Rhoads, which was also the form mainly used by his family in California, his account with the Church was listed as Rhodes. The name version principally used by his Utah descendents became Rhoades, a combination of the two.

After his arrival, Rhoads married a Pioneer of 1847, the widow Mary Miranda White Rogers. Her husband, Isaac Rogers, died or was killed on his return from the California gold fields that same year. The Census (7) of 1850 showed Thomas, Mary, Caleb, at 15, Lucinda at 11, and triplets, Adeline, Benjamin, and Adelaide, aged one. These were probably the first triplets born in Utah. It is a fair assumption, in view of the multiple births of Thomas' first wife, that these were the product of his union with Mary.

Mary was known to have been a resident of Deseret (possibly Farmington), at the time Thomas returned to the Valley. As he had only arrived in late September of 1849, and as the triplets were listed as a year old at the time of the Census, it may be assumed that he married her toward the end of that year. If so, it did not take them long to get acquainted. It may be that his friend, Brigham Young, suggested that he marry the widow. It is also possible that Thomas brought Mary word of her husband's death, with either romantic or practical results.

On March 24, 1852, Thomas was sealed to both the deceased Elizabeth and to Mary. (8) The following February, while Thomas was on a short term mission to Missouri in company with John Brown and Orson Pratt, Mary died in childbirth. Brigham Young preached the funeral sermon. (9)

It was on this mission that Thomas sold twenty acres of his land there to his son, Daniel for \$100. He disposed of the remainder of his land holdings in Ray County, about 600 acres, for \$2600. (10)

After returning from his mission that fall, Rhoads married Mary Vabel (Vible) Walch (Vald, Valch), a widowed mother of

three, on September 6, being sealed on November 20th. Brigham Young performed the marriage in Thomas' home. (11)

That fall he also married Annette (Aretta, Arranetta) Caroline Maale and Eliza Cecelia Jorgensen (Johnson), followed a year later by Olive Harnden (Larnden, Harnden) and Wilhemina Matilda Mary Peterson. In 1855 or 1856, he took Jacobine Wilhemena Sophia Jorgensen (Johnson), sister to Eliza, to wife. (12) This account possibly leaves out one wife. A descendent, Ethel R. Pehrson (13) maintains that he had nine marriage partners. There is also some support for the nine wives as he was living with Margaret Rhoades from Delaware, in 1860. (14)

As many Mormon men at that time had women sealed to them with whom they did not actually live as sexual partners, it is uncertain how many of these sealings resulted in connubial relationships. Of course the marriage to Mary Rogers did, resulting in three children. In addition, family group sheets have been located for the Jorgensen (Johnson) sisters, who produced four children each. (15) These eleven plus the twenty one by Elizabeth, make of total of 32 children. Rhoades-Boren maintain that he fathered thirty-six children but they present no support of such. If he produced children by Harnden, Maale, Walch, Peterson and Margaret, the numbers could have far exceeded the 32 or even the 36.

It was probably the taking of his first plural wife in 1853 that produced a rupture in the Rhoads family. The family members remaining in California, by and large, rejected the peculiar Mormon doctrine and practice of polygamy into which their father entered. It was a shock to them, appearing as a desecration to the memory of their mother and probably offended their moral codes.

Even Thomas' visit to his son John's death bed in 1866 (16) could not heal the breach. As far as is known, the California Rhoadses remained outside of the Church--so embarrassed or embittered by the practice that they refused to acknowledge any past Church membership.

Rhoads' entrance into Salt Lake may have been kept quiet in an attempt by Church leaders to keep gold fever to a minimum. What followed after his arrival almost makes one wonder if Thomas' gold helped open the way to the leadership roles that came to him in rapid succession.

In 1851, Thomas was ordained an High Priest. (17) On January 11, of that year, he was also appointed treasurer of the first Salt Lake County government. His tenure in the office was short as he was not returned to the office in the election of 1853. (18)

The following day he was appointed a member of the count Grand Jury. During his term of office, which was a year, he signed a

petition to the City Council importuning that body to demolish the "old fort," which was really only four years old. The reason given for the request was that it was a "filthy, unwholesome place, fit for nothing, only as a cage for unclean beasts, and hardly that." (19)

On February 25 he received his Endowments, a special religious rite reserved for the more faithful and devout members of the Church. (20)

In April, he was selected as one of fifty men, six women and one child to accompany Brigham Young on an inspection tour into southern Deseret. (21) It was an area to which Thomas would return for the last several years of his life.

On July 26, he and Jonathan C. Wright were nominated as judges for the Great Salt Lake County in what the Journal History termed "the most unanimous caucus ever held in the mountains. (22) And on October 6, he, along with Wilford Woodruff (future Apostle and Church President,) Hosea Stout (veteran Mormon scout,) and Robert Lang Campbell (one of Brigham Young's clerks,) was appointed a school regent, pro tem. This body in turn appointed Elias Smith as Superintendent of Schools for Deseret as well as William C. Staines as the State Librarian. (23)

On March 1, 1852, Thomas and Elias Smith presided over the first part of the Endowment (24) of twenty six persons. Apostles George A. Smith and Orson Pratt, future Apostle Albert Carrington, Wm. C. Staines, and Samuel Sprague, along with Heber C. Kimball of the First Presidency superintending, were also involved in the ceremony.

December 6, of that year, found him in company with Daniel Wilkin, Horace Eldredge, John Brown and Apostle Orson Pratt, on a missionary trip to the east. (25) At Richmond, county seat of Ray County in Missouri where Rhoads owned property, he and Wilkin "left their companions to visit relatives." Thomas' oldest son, Forster, was probably still there. His son, Daniel, may have returned as Thomas sold him the land. And as already indicated, Thomas sold the remainder of his known Missouri landholdings.

The missionary nature of this trip is not known as he is not listed in the Church missionary files as having performed a mission. (26) Yet, in the 9th General Epistle to the Saints all over the world, executed on April 13, 1853, mention is made of the passing of his wife and of Rhoads as a "missionary elder." (27)

In the October Conference of 1853, Thomas was sustained as the First Counselor to President David Fullmer in the Salt Lake Stake Presidency. Phineas H. Young, older brother of Brigham Young, was the Second Counselor. (28)

Rhoads was to remain in that capacity until the October Conference of 1856, at which time Daniel Spencer was named president with David Fullmer as first counselor and Rhoads as second. He remained in that role until the next April when he was released from that call. (29)

As far as is known, these were his first and last official ecclesiastical positions. Esshom has no indication of any Church position, only listing him as among other things a Seventy. (30) No record has been found of an ordination as a Seventy. (31)

While there may be no great significance in the affair, except to show his considered importance, on October 18, 1854, two soldiers got drunk at "John Mellon's place" and that evening abused people in front of Thomas Rhoads' house in Salt Lake, hitting his door and fence with stones. (32)

On March 28, 1855, Rhoads was commissioned a 1st Lieutenant in the Nauvoo Legion and Militia of the Territory of Utah having been elected the previous April by Governor Brigham Young. (31) As such he may have well been involved in the "Utah War" of 1857-58. He is credited with having discovered the first coal in the Coalville area in the latter year, (32) possibly having been sent there to guard that alternataive route into Utah against Johnston's Army that was waiting out the winter in Wyoming country to the east.

In August of 1859, an event occurred which could have placed a negative influence on the reputation of Thomas. On August 5, Frank McNeil, a member of Johnston's Army of occupation, was mortally wounded. He had come to Salt Lake for a hearing before federal Judge, Sinclair, in a suit against Brigham Young for false imprisonment.

Two days earlier, McNeil and a man named Rhodes had had an altercation in which they fired their pistols at each other. After McNeil received his mortal wound, Rhodes disappeared. The editor of the anti-Mormon Army newspaper, The Valley Tan, editorialized that his disappearance fastened "indelibly upon his skirts the blood of McNeil." (35) The Mormon outlaw, Lot Huntington, also figured in the fraca but was released for lack of evidence by the federal judge.

The question is whether or not Thomas Rhoads, whose name was often spelled "Rhodes," was this man. As with so many things relating to Thomas, there is considerable mystery about the affair. The evidence against him, all purely circumstantial or speculative, would seem to be the following:

1. He was very devoted and close to Brigham Young. His devotion might have led him to take such action.
2. Brigham Young and other Church leaders had been preaching

the "doctrine of blood atonement" in which certain crimes could be expiated only by the shedding of blood. While suing the Prophet was not one of the proscribed crimes, it is possible that some fanatic might have interpreted it as such. Rhodes might have been such a fanatic.

3. Rhoads had remained publically unknown as a Mormon in Missouri and Illinois. If there was a secret police body (the Danites) and if it was continued in Utah, as some contend, he could have been a member of that body.

The contradictory evidence or reasoning is:

1. No mention is made by the Valley Tan of a first name for Rhodes. Thomas had been a public figure from 1851-1857, being in the Salt Lake Stake Presidency much of that time. Had he been the person involved in the original altercation, he should have been well known, even among the non-Mormons and apostates.

2. There has been nothing uncovered yet to indicate that Rhoads was a man of violence or fanaticism, though that characteristic was not uncommon among men of the frontier at that point of time.

3. In 1865, a dying man name Luce admitted that he had previously killed a man named Rhodes. (36) This could not have been Thomas Rhoads as he died peacefully in 1869.

4. If Rhoads was involved with the supposed secret Mormon police force, which was purportedly involved in the attempted murder of ex-governor Lilburn W. Boggs, and if Rhoads was a member of that group, it is strange that he could not have found the opportunity to do in the arch-enemy of the Church some place along the trail from Missouri to California in 1846 or in that land after their arrival. But here again there is no evidence that he belonged to such a group.

There is one more piece of information that is difficult to explain. On March 3, 1857, a Matilda Rhoads wrote a letter to Brigham Young. The letter read:

Dear Brother in the Lord:

I wish to say a few words to you concerning my husband and the young woman that he wishes to take for wife she is a good young woman who lived with me two years ago last fall her name is Margaret Armstrong it is my will and wish for my husband to take her for his wife now for he has reformed finely of all his evils and he says he is determined to live his religion from this time heceforth and for ever and I firmly believe that he is determined to live his religion for he begins to manifest the same by his works. I believe

he is now determined to stop with the saints and do as his superiors bid him please let him know in the morning what he may do and I am your humble servant and never deviating friend. (37)

This letter just does not sound like it came from the wife of a member of a stake presidency, which Thomas was at the time. Yet Matilda spelled her last name the same way as Rhoads. Of course she could have been married to one of his sons. Another problem is that Rhoads was married to a Wilhemina Matilda Mary Peterson and possibly a Margaret, with whom he was living in 1860. However, this Rhoads appears to have been a renegade and perhaps even a "Winter Saint." (38) As such, he was more likely to have been the one involved in a murder than Thomas. It may well have been this apparent outlaw who was killed by Luce in 1864. (39)

There is one final bit of evidence which shows that Thomas Rhoads was not involved in the murder of McNeil. In the confessions of the notorious Bill Hickman, he gives the renegade Rhodes the first name of Joe. (40) He also says Joe was not a Mormon. As this book was an expose' of Mormonism, he could be expected to have revealed Thomas as the murderer of McNeil if he had even been suspected of such a crime.

Footnotes  
Chapter 7

1. Thomas Rhoads, Biographical Sketch. Church Archives.
2. Gold Accounts, op cit.
3. Ibid.
4. Plat A, Salt Lake City, 1850. BYU Archives.
5. Gold Accounts, op cit.
6. A prominent Salt Lake builder.
7. U.S. Census, Utah, 1850.
8. Family Group Sheets, Church Genealogical Library. The sealing is a special Mormon religious rite in which people are eternally sealed together as a family unit, contingent on continued faithfulness.
9. Journal History, op cit, February 11, 1853.
10. Ray County Land Records, op cit.
11. Journal History, op cit, September 6, 1853.
12. Ricketts, op cit, p. 10; Family Group Sheets, op cit.
13. Ethel R. Pehrson, Letter. Author's files.
14. U.S. Census, op cit.
15. Family Group Sheets, op cit.
16. Deseret Semi-Weely News, op cit.
17. Church Archives, op cit.
18. Edward Tullidge, THE HISTORY OF SALT LAKE CITY. Published by himself, 1886, pp. 161-63. There is some confusion on the date and it may have been in 1852 rather than 1851.
19. Rhoades-Boren, op cit, p. 49.
20. Church Archives, op cit.
21. Journal History, May 2, 1851.
22. Ibid, July 26, 1851.



23. Ibid, October 6, 1851.
24. Ibid, March 1, 1852. This a special religious ordinance reserved for the more faithful Saints.
25. Ibid, December 6, 1852.
26. Church Archives, op cit.
27. Journal History, April 13, 1853.
28. Ibid, October 6, 1853.
29. Ibid, October 6, 1854; April 6, October 6, 1855; April 6, October 6, 1856; April 6, 1857.
30. Frank Esshom, PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN OF UTAH. Western Epics, 1966.
31. Church Archives, op cit.
32. Journal History, op cit, April 13, 1853.
33. Rhoades-Boren, op cit, p. 51.
34. Carter, OUR PIONEER HERITAGE, op cit, Vol. 13, p. 37.
35. Valley Tan, August 10, 1859; Journal History, August 10, 1859.
36. The death of this "Rhodes" was probably the source of some accounts that Thomas died in 1865.
37. Brigham Young Correspondence, Church Archives.
38. A "Winter Saint" was usually thought of as a Gentile who married a Mormon girl, often having been baptized for the occasion, staying over the winter and moving on in the spring.
39. Journal History, op cit, January 11, 1864.
40. J. H. Beadle, BRIGHAM'S DESTROYING ANGELS. Geo. A. Crofutt, 1872, p. 141.

## Chapter 8

### A Mighty Hunter of Grizzly Bears

Thomas Rhoads' city life must have soon begun to pale on him. In 1855 he began to take steps to leave civilization, at least Salt Lake City.

Esshom described Rhoads as a "Seventy, trapper, miner and former stockraiser," (1) most of these terms being descriptive of a lifestyle removed from the accoutrements of urban life. He is probably best known as the central figure around which the legend of the Lost Rhoades Mine was developed.

While the story of Rhoads' involvement in the California gold fields can be well-documented, his Utah mining experience consists mostly of legend and speculation. His Utah descendents look on him as a rancher and miner (2) but he is the source of folklore that goes well beyond his family.

Ask almost any oldtimer in the Uintah Basin, Daggett, Wasatch or Summit counties of present-day Utah about Thomas Rhoads and they will tell you about his "lost gold mine." Even the younger descendents of old-time residents are still looking for his mine a hundred and fifteen years after his death. (3) The supposed locations of his rich find are disparate ranging from the area just to the north of Price up to the Wyoming border and from Park City east to the Colorado border. In fact this territory might well be called Rhoads country..

The Rhoades-Boren story is the most complete compilation of this folklore. (4) Carter tells the bare outline but taking it from the joint authors. (5)

The essentially undocumented story goes something like this. In July of 1852, an agreement (6) was supposedly reached among Brigham Young, the Indian Chief Walker, a baptized Mormon, and Thomas Rhoads that the latter could go into the Uintah Basin each year to secure whatever gold the Church needed, but under the following conditions:

1. No one other than Thomas Rhoads would know of the location.
2. Death would be imposed on anyone attempting to follow him or to mine the gold without the permission of the Utes, specifically Chief Walker.
3. Ute Indians would not be used to extract or transport the gold.

The story is perhaps conceivable. Indians could have permitted limited but secret extractions of gold. It is also possible that Brigham Young would be amenable to the stated conditions in spite

of his public opposition to mining.

By 1852, a public Church policy of opposition to gold mining, except where men were specifically called or given permission by Church leaders, had become well-established. Brigham Young did not want another gold rush to inundate Utah with hordes of Gentile gold seekers.

In addition, men were needed more on the farms, ranches and in budding commercial and manufacturing establishments than in "running off after gold." If the extraction of precious metals could be a tightly held secret, they could be used to benefit the Church and Kingdom and yet not produce the feared negative effects of Gentile mining camps.

Rhoads was a logical man for such a call if it came. He had proven himself in Missouri and had reaffirmed his devotion to the cause by coming to Zion from California at the height of the Gold Rush, bringing his gold with him and depositing it with Brigham Young. He could be secretive, as had been true in Illinois, Missouri and the trip to California.

Of course he had made his less secretive trip to Deseret in 1849, but that may have been done purposely to convince gold seekers that they should go on to the coast, rather than stop in Zion.

Subsequent to his arrival in Salt Lake City in 1849, Brigham Young had shown great confidence in him. And his later work with the Indians in southern Utah indicate an interest in and ability to get along with the Red Man.

The Rhoades-Boren story suggests that between 1852 and 1855, six or seven trips were made by Thomas into the High Uintah country, under the guise of hunting and trapping expeditions. He brought out rich gold ore, disguised as loads of fur pelts.

Upon Walker's death in 1855, the Indian chief's brother, Aropene, assumed the role of leader of the Ute nation, supposedly reaffirming the previous arrangement. It was supposedly at this time that the "rumor" was spread that Rhoads had given \$17,000 in gold to the Church. (7)

In 1855, when Thomas took seriously ill, he is said to have revealed the location of the mine to his son, Caleb, who carried on the mining operation with the permission of the new chief of the Utes. After Thomas' recovery, he and Caleb traveled into Ute country together on the yearly, gold gathering pilgrimages. (7)

The gold that was secured was reportedly used for the decoration of the temples under construction, and "eventually for the gold-plating of the statue of the Angel Moroni," (8) atop the Salt Lake Temple, which was not completed until the 1890s.

This tale is difficult to evaluate using the usual standards of historical objectivity. Rhoades-Boren base their story upon unnamed family records and stories by old timers which by and large have not yet been made available for verification and corroboration. There is little if any hard evidence in support of the story of a lost gold mine of "almost pure gold" mined by Rhoads primarily for the benefit of the Church.

Foster Rhoades, (9) a grandson, visited an oldtimer in Minersville, where Rhoads died in 1869 and where two of his sister-wives lived. He was shown an adobe hut where Rhoads had lived. The size of the abode indicated poverty. Of course, he could have given all or most of his gold to the Church.

Foster Rhoades does give some indirect support for the gold story. In 1916, he visited Charles W. Penrose, former editor of the Deseret News, who told him of the great financial contributions to the Church made by Foster's grandfather, but gave no details. In addition, in a visit with Emmeline B. Wells, prominent female leader in the Church about 1918, she told him the same story. (10) Of course they could have been only referring to his original contribution in 1849.

In addition, according to a granddaughter of Thomas, Ethel R. Pehrson, (11) he periodically showed up at the home of his Minersville wives with a supply of gold, giving to each a supply of gold to last until his next visit.

Some of Thomas' other activities from 1855 to his death are better documented. On September 28, 1855, in the company of W.W. Phelps, with whom he had been acquainted in Missouri and who lived neighbor to him in Salt Lake, Thomas began a two or three day trip to the Summit County area. (12)

Travelling up Parley's Canyon to Snider's Mill at Kimball's Junction, they travelled down Silver Creek into the Coalville area. It is possible that they saw indications of the rich coal deposits located there at that time though reports of such a find place the discovery in 1857 or 1858.

They followed the Weber River up to the Kamas Prairee. They ascended the hills on the west side of the valley and looking back to the east saw "plenty of timbered hills and mountains spread below them yellow, red and green foliage . . ."and"about twenty miles in the distance, between Provo and Weber headwaters, was a grand space for another fat valley of Ephraim."

After coming to another small valley to the west, they headed north to Silver Creek and Snyder's mill and back to Salt Lake City.

On December 23 of that year, the Territorial Legislature,

located in National Hall at Fillmore, the planned capital of Utah, granted Brigham Young and Thomas Rhoads the whole of Kamas Prairie. (13)

Shortly following the trip, Rhoads the following, forceful, almost demanding letter to Brigham Young (14):

I wish to drop you a few lines requesting you to select a party of the brethren to accompany me out to Kamas Valley. I would be glad if you think it is wisdom to have you cry it on the stand if there is any good industrious able men would like to go out and work and help to improve a settlement that they might have a chance to let them selves be known I think that there is many good brethren that would like to go out if they did know that it would be according to your council but the brethren feel a grate diffidence in offering themselves to go on such or any mision for fear of a flogging from the heads of the church on the stand now brother Brigham if you think this is wisdom you will oblige me by so doing according to the above lines and cry it out on the stand tomorrow in the morning and also in the afternoon and oblige me

I am yours respectfully,  
Thomas Rhoads

On May 20, 1857, W. W. Phelps, Rhoads' exploring partner of 1855, reported a new settlement that took place two weeks earlier, below Kamas Prairie or Rhoads Ranch. Phelps had surveyed twenty or thirty lots at Fort Peoa, which fort was also dedicated. The pioneering party consisted of 28 men, one boy and one woman. (15)

As far as is known, this was the first community in Kamas Valley though Rhoads had apparently set up a ranch in the Kamas Prairie, which had become known as Rhoads Ranch. While he was retained in the Salt Lake Stake Predsidency until April of 1857, he could conceivably have served in that capacity, though perhaps not well, and still had his ranch in Kamas Prairie, leaving it for the winters that were usually very tough.

In February of 1857, Rhoads was again selected to accompany Brigham Young and a substantial group of men on another inspection trip. This excursion was into the Salmon River country of present-day Idaho. (16)

By the time of the Utah Census of 1860, (17) Thomas had become established as a trader in Summit County. If he was a miner, that occupation assumed a secondary place in his public life. It is possible, of course, that he purposely kept his mining activities obscure.

The listing of his family in the Census, provides increased mystery to this man of mystery:

Margaret	40 years	from Delaware
Annette	45 years	from Denmark
Cecilia	35 years	from Denmark
Berniece	25 years	from Denmark
Caleb B.	23 years	from Illinois
Spencer	22 years	from Pennsylvania
Albert	18 years	from Pennsylvania
Charles	14 years	from Pennsylvania
Adeline	12 years	
Anna	12 years	
Anna	10 years	
Olive	10 years	
Thomas	4 years	
Nephi	4 years	
Adeline	4 years	

Rhoads had four adult women living with him. From the list of wives, identified earlier, only two them, Eliza Cecilia Jorgensen (Johnson) and Annette Caroline Maale, emerge with some clarity. Margaret could have been the Mary Vabel Walch, whom he married in 1852 with her sons Spencer, Albert and Charles, all born in Pennsylvania. Or she could have been the reported ninth wife. It is also possible that Berniece was the ninth wife. As the latter was from Denmark, she might well have been related to Annette and Cecelia who were also from that country. By the time of the Census, Olive had died.

Caleb B. was Thomas' son by his first wife, Elizabeth. From the first Adeline on, the names and ages of the children do not jibe with the extant genealogical records. (18) For example, the record for Cecilia shows her having three children at the time of the Census:

Olive	born in 1854 or 1856
Josephine	born in 1857
Nephi	born in 1860

While the Census shows an Olive and a Nephi, the dates and ages do not square, and Josephine is missing.

The only other genealogical record found for Rhoads, (19) that of Josephine Jorgenson (Johnson), younger sister of Eliza Cecilia, shows two children: Thomas, born in 1857, and Annie born in 1859. The Thomas listed is about right, but Annie is not. However, Josephine herself was apparently not living with Thomas in Rhoads valley.

It must be recognized that in the extended, Mormon polygamous families, children were not necessarily raised by their own, biological mothers. And wives were frequently found in several different locations .

Rhoads was important enough to be the namesake for several nameplaces in Utah. As may be seen from the accompanying map, in addition to Rhodes (Kamas) Valley, which he first settled, to the southeast are several additional Rhodes (Rhoads) nameplaces: Rhodes Creek, Rhodes Canyon, Rhodes Plateau, Rhodes Lake and Rhodes Peak.

A few miles south of the mountainous, contemporary southwest Wyoming border, the waters of Rhodes Creek flow down Rhodes Canyon flow into Wolf Creek which in turn flows into the Duchesne River and eventually the Green and Colorado rivers. Between the juncture of Wolf Creek and the Duchesne is Rhodes Peak, the highest elevation in that area, arising from Rhodes Plateau. This Rhodes country lies in the present-day Uintah National forest, just north of the Uintah-Ouray Indian Reservation. All names do not appear on any single, official map of the area. (20)

On September 2, 1861, the projected construction of a road into the Uintah area from Parleys Park, through Rhoads Ranch and Kamas Prairee was announced. (21) In a letter dated September 12, Rhoads, Jesse W. Fox (a surveyor), and J. W. Cummings reported to Brigham Young their journey through Uintah Basin. Rhoads was evidently the guide. Signed by all three men and definitely not penned nor composed by Rhoads, the none too encouraging letter reads:

We express to you by Levi Stewart and E.W. (undecipherable but possibly Ellerbeck) a brief report of our exploration in this part of the Territory. The Salt Lake Company and accompanied by Father Rhoads crossed the divide between Provo and the Uinta Tributaries on Thursday, Sept 5th (The Provo Co. passing on through Strawberry Valley and falling in our rear.) We followed down the principal stream a distance of over 100 miles to its mouth at Green River, leaving Uinta Valley proper to our left which lies about south of Bridger Fort and about 30 miles N.W. from the confluence of Green and Uinta rivers. The surrounding country on the principal stream that we followed down is a succession of broken sand hills, strongly impregnated with alkali; growing nothing except scrub sage and greasewood not a particle of range except the river bottom which varies from the width of the river to some 160 rods wide; this bottom is made from the wash of the sandhills growing salt and alkali grass and a limited, inferior quality of cottonwood, too scrubby for house logs. From the mouth of the Uinta we followed up Green River some 10 miles and then passed across into Uinta Valley and camped near the ruins of Roubidou's Fort. This place which has been so highly recommended and in fact the only place that we have found that will admit of a limited settlement, includes the bottoms of Uinta river and Ashley's Fork. The timber on the Uinta river is prime extending into the valley and on Ashley's Fork a 2d growth of dwarf cottonwood and on the mountain side dwarf cedar.

Illus. 10 Rhodes country



They continued:

The surrounding country on the east and west is a broken sage desert, affording no range for stock. The only grass lies adjacent to the creeks, the farming land is superficial and is detached, carrying from one to ten acres in a place underlaid with cobble rocks. These detached pieces of farming land are separated by wide streaks of cobble rock which lie upon the surface and constitute 9/10 of the area of the Uinta Valley. The whole country appears strongly impregnated with alkali and salt. Our opinion is that the inducement to locate a settlement here for farming and grazing purpose is not at all inviting. Still not knowing but policy may dictate the formation of a settlement here under the circumstances as above described, we shall remain here a few days to recruit our animals and make a general survey of the valley. That you may be enabled to get a more minute history of the facilities of the country we have chosen Br. Levi Stewart the bearer of this report.

We remain in the New and  
Everlasting Covenant

Jesse W. Fox  
J. W. Cummings  
Thomas Rhoads

P.S. We are all well and in good spirits. (22)

On January 6, 1862, Rhoads, having moved to Kamas Prairie, was nominated as a delegate from Summit County to the Constitutional Convention of the provisional State of Deseret held in Salt Lake City. (23) On March 19, Rhoads was elected as a member of the House of Representatives, serving on the Committee for Roads, Bridges, Ferries and Kanyons, along with Bernard Snow and Wm. R. Smith. (24) On December 10, he represented both Summit and Green River (now southwest Wyoming) counties, taking the Oath of Office for the legislature. This was his last known public office. (25)

The history of Rhoads once again becomes obscure after 1862. Sometime thereafter, he moved some of his family, including sister-wives Cecilia and Jacobina to Minersville, Beaver County. Located on the edge of the western desert, This mining-agricultural community was located a few miles west of Beaver in southern Deseret. Lead-silver ores had been discovered there a few years earlier and was being developed as Deseret's first precious metal mines. (26)

According to Ethel R. Pehrson,

The wives of Thomas were self-sustaining and each had her own home, some of them remaining in Salt Lake. Much of his time was spent travelling all over the country for supplies, indian missions, and mining gold. He occasionally showed

up with a supply of gold giving some to each wife to last until he came again. He died in the home of Eliza Cecilia Jorgenson Rhoades in Minersville. (27)

According to Rachel Powell Pilling, another granddaughter, the sisters, Cecilia and Jacobina (the latter a hunchback,) kept a store owned by Thomas, in West Minersville. "His instructions to his wives who were left in care of the store was that if people came for goods and offered clothing in payment, they were to be given what they wanted without charge." (28)

Rhoads' unpublished obituary (29) refers without detail to a mission to the White Mountains country in what is now Lincoln County in southeastern Nevada. In 1864, Elder Erastus Snow, the Apostle in charge of the southern part of Deseret, called a group of men to stake out mining claims in the White Mountains in the Pahranaagat area, some distance to the west of Minersville. (30) No proof has yet been uncovered that Thomas was one of these men but it is a likely call and might well have been his reason for leaving Rhodes Valley. It is also possible that he had already moved to the area and was called from there on the mining related mission.

While claims were staked out by the Mormons, they were soon abandoned, having been disallowed by the anti-Mormon General Connor who sent some of his soldier-miners Salt Lake Headquarters to lay claim to the area. This was not a singular action, being part of a master plan to reduce the threat of the "Mormon Menace." As Deseret was under martial or military law, Connor's word and actions were decisive. (31)

Rhoads' biographical sketch also asserts that he had a home in Kane County which located in southcentral Utah. A home might well have been maintained in connection with missionary work among the Moquis Indians. The History of Kane County reports:

The first we know of Mocassin Springs, came from William B. Maxwell, who sold a claim to a Bro. Rhoades for eighty head of sheep. This claim was located at what was called Mocassin Springs, about the year 1863 . . . situated about four miles north of Pipe Springs. . . These springs are now called Sand Springs.

Brother Rhodes induced another man, by the name of Randall Alexander, to settle with him at Moccasin, and the two together bought such remaining land from the Indians as they seemed still to own it. This was in 1864, six years after Jacob Hamblin and fellow scouts had found and named Pipe Springs on October 30, 1858.

Indian troubles from 1865 to '69 caused the ranch to be vacated from 1866-1869 or '70. Mr. Rhodes built the first log

Illus. 11 Map of Utah showing various locations associated with Thomas Rhoads (Salt Lake, Kamas Valley, Minersville and Kane County)

cabin just west of the sand springs. (32)

The timing of these developments in Kane County fit with Rhoads' reported activities--both as to time and the activities themselves. In addition, it may be remembered that a man named Alexander received a payment from Rhoads in 1850. While the time span between the payment and Alexander's involvement with Rhoads is considerable, it is conceivable that they had a long term relationship.

On February 20, 1869, Rhoads died in Minersville "after a lingering illness of nine months, dying in full faith and fellowship in the Church." He was "cheerful to the last, with full faith and confident of a Glorious Resurrection. Was beloved by all who knew him." He was interred in an unmarked grave on February 22, "attended by a large concourse of citizens." (33)

On September 21, 1869, the HISTORY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG, in the last known reference to Rhoads in a Church record, refers to Rhoads Valley, named after Bro. Thomas Rhoads, "a mighty hunter of grizzly bears." (34)

No obituary for this illustrious pioneer was forthcoming in the Deseret News. His death took place after the U. S. Army's anti-Mormon, pro-mining newspaper had closed down and before the Salt Lake Tribune, its aggressive successor, was established. These two papers, dedicated as they were to mining and the undermining of Mormon influence, were more likely to have published a notice of his death than the Church owned paper. In fact their editors would have taken great delight in publicizing any mining activity in which Rhoads might have been engaged.

Why this neglect?

By the time of his death, the Church had established a strong public anti-mining policy. In support of this policy, the Deseret News had a consistent policy of downplaying any mining or reported mining activity. This was done to cool down mining fever which might bring in great numbers of non-Mormons and anti-Mormons. While it is purely speculative, one cannot help but wonder what notice his death might have evoked had it taken place other than at that particular time and place.

Rhoads' major apparent claim to fame in 1869, and even that was not publically announced, was not that he had been a very successful miner, Church benefactor, prominent early Church leader in Salt Lake, and the pioneer settler of Kamas Prairee, but simply that he was a "mighty hunter of grizzly bears."

Footnotes  
Chapter 8

1. Esshom, op cit.
2. Rhoads (Rhodes, Rhoades) Family Group Sheets, op cit.
3. A flurry of speculation was regenerated in 1978 when the electronic news media presented accounts of the rediscovery of the supposed Lost Rhoades Mine near Vernal, Utah.
4. Rhoades-Boren, op cit, pp. 65-72.
5. Kate B. Carter, HEARTTHROBS OF THE WEST, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Vol. 5, pp. 211-214.
6. Rhoades-Boren, op cit.
7. Brigham Young had earlier referred to the \$17,000 in gold.
8. It is very doubtful that the Church leaders would have kept gold in storage for thirty to forty years.
9. Interview with Foster Rhoades, a grandson of Thomas Rhoads, on February 17, 1977.
10. Ibid.
11. Interview with Ethel R. Pehrson, a granddaughter of Thomas Rhoads, on April 13, 1977.
12. Journal History, op cit, October 3, 1855.
13. Ibid, December 23, 1855.
14. Brigham Young Correspondence, op cit.
15. Journal History, op cit, May 20, 1857
16. Ibid, February 22, 1857.
17. Utah Census, 1860.
18. Rhoades (Rhoads, Rhodes) Family Group Sheets, op cit.
19. Ibid.
20. See maps of Utah, Brigham Young Univesity Library.
21. Journal History, op cit, September 2, 1861.

22. Brigham Young Correspondence, op cit.
23. Journal History, op cit, January, 6, 1862.
24. Ibid, March 19, 1862.
25. Ibid, December 10, 1862.
26. Keith A. Kelley and J. Kenneth Davies, "Minersville: The Beginnings of Lead-Silver Mining in Utah." Utah Historical Quarterly, Summer 1983.
27. Pehrson, op cit.
30. Pilling, op cit.
31. Thompson and West, HISTORY OF NEVADA, a reprint in 1958 of the 1881 editions, pp. 76,76.
32. A. F. Robinson, ed., HISTORY OF KANE COUNTY, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1970, BYU Library, p. 481.
33. Rhoads Obituary, op cit.
34. HISTORY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG, op cit.